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NEGOTIATING THE EDGE: COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT OF THE GOVERNORS BAY FORESHORE

**A study of the interaction and negotiation between competing landscape
discourses in the community management of a public landscape.**

**A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture
at
Lincoln University
by
David Baxter**

Lincoln University

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of MLA

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A study of the interaction and negotiation between competing landscape discourses in the
community management of a public landscape.

by David Baxter

Landscape management is the process of directing the function and appearance of current and future landscapes. Much landscape research in Aotearoa/New Zealand has to date modelled the management making process as rational and apolitical with language a neutral medium of description. This study adopts an approach that both critiques these assumptions, and recognises the contingent nature of language and its role in constituting our subjective realities.

Governors Bay foreshore provides the case study for analysing discourses competing for influence in landscape management. Study of the conflict and negotiation between them gives an enhanced understanding of the meanings attributed by New Zealanders to their landscapes, and a better understanding of the issues that arise from community involvement in management of landscape values and amenity values.

Keywords

Landscape, landscape discourses, landscape management, community involvement, Banks Peninsula, Lyttelton Harbour, Governors Bay, Local Government

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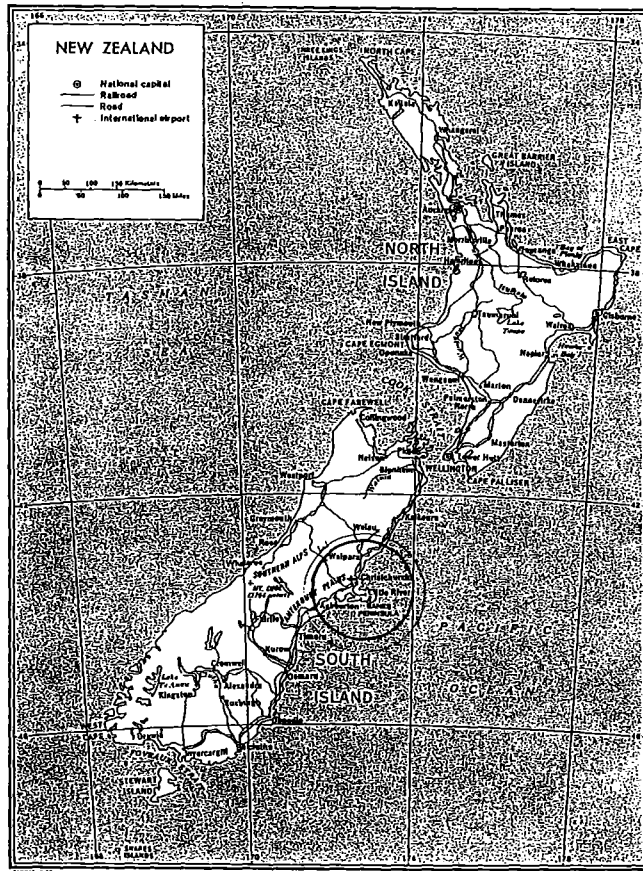
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Map 1: New Zealand

Chapter 1: Introduction and background to the study

1.1 Introduction

The landscape is an important part of the identity of Aotearoa/New Zealand. From tourist images of scenic icons to the religious paintings of Colin McCahon and the movies of Vincent Ward and Jane Campion, the landscape has long been the source of motifs and signs with which to build a symbology of nationhood.

At the more prosaic level of managing the landscape, the advent of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) has itself raised landscape issues to a much higher profile. In response, attempts have begun to understand the ways in which we attribute meaning to the landscape and to show how such meanings affect management processes.

1.2 Landscape management

Until recently alternative relationships with the environment have not been recognised as management per se, due to them not being based on the types of knowledge and

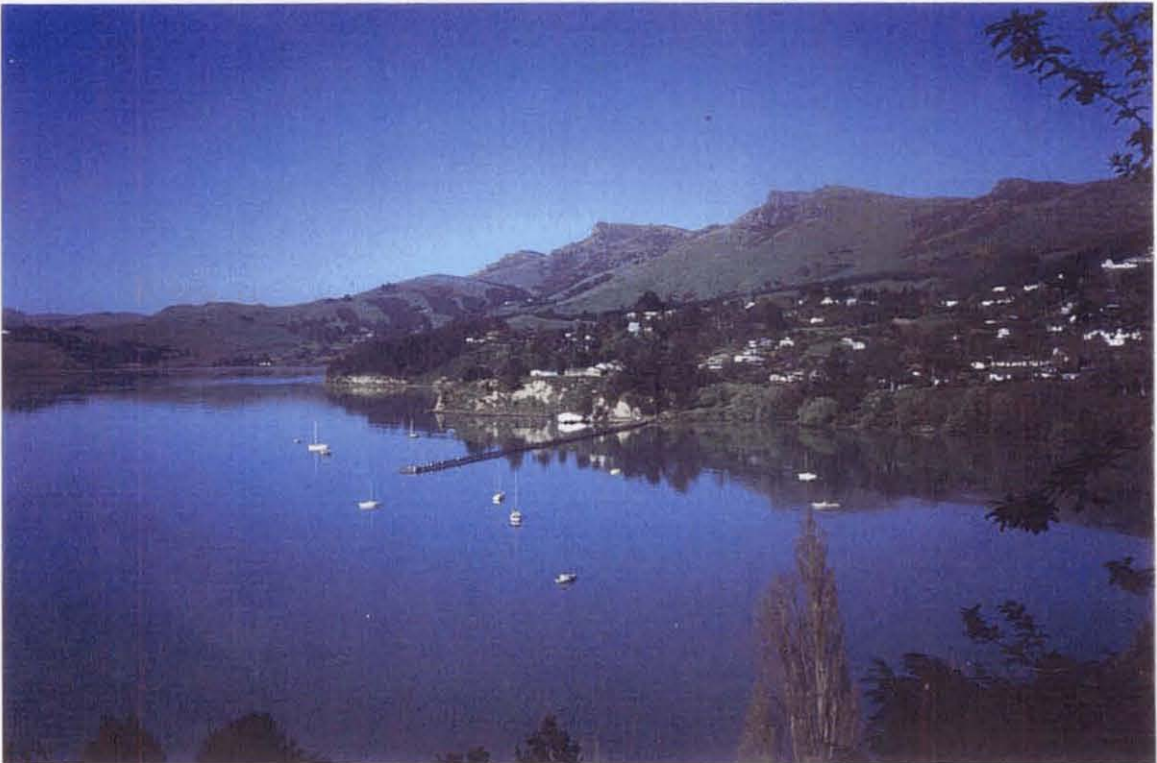


Plate 1: Governors Bay

knowing that we associate with management. Yet we are now realising that for example, non-western methods of management such as the patch burning regimes of the

Australian aborigines, and the hunter-gatherer-regime of southern Maori were based on a systematic and deep knowledge of their heavily modified eco-systems. Clearly a reconsideration of how we define knowledge and view other ways of 'knowing' is in order. This thesis contributes to such reconsideration in Aotearoa/ New Zealand by talking to people about their local landscapes.

1.3 *Research objectives*

More precisely this research aims to extend understanding of landscape experience and the values or meanings attributed to it through a study of the community management of the foreshore of Governors Bay. It then goes on to consider the implications of landscape meanings for landscape management.

In particular it considers these questions:

- Where do landscape meanings come from and to what extent are they negotiable?
- What happens when meanings are in conflict?
- What is landscape management and how is it affected by the meanings attributed to the landscape?
- What are the implications of devolving landscape management to the community?
- Do textual metaphor and discourse analysis provide an appropriate methodology for researching landscape issues in Aotearoa/ New Zealand?

1.4 *Outline of approach*

In this study I draw upon the writings of Duncan and Duncan¹ who have been responsible for introducing the work of French Post-Structuralists, especially Foucault, to the realm of landscape. They view human consciousness as constitutive of and constituted by streams of discourse. Produced from within the discourses are texts. Analysis of these texts is how we access the discourses and hence gain an understanding of the ideas and meanings people have attributed to the landscape.

¹ Duncan, J and Duncan, T. (Re)reading the Landscape. *Environment and PlanningD: Society and Space*. (1988); Vol 6:117-125



Map 2: Banks Peninsula

This is the textual metaphor for landscape. The model I use adopts an expanded notion of text to include not just written texts but all kinds of cultural productions, from spoken words to social institutions. These are viewed as actually constitutive of reality not just as representations of it, that is *cultural practices of signification rather than as referential duplications*.²

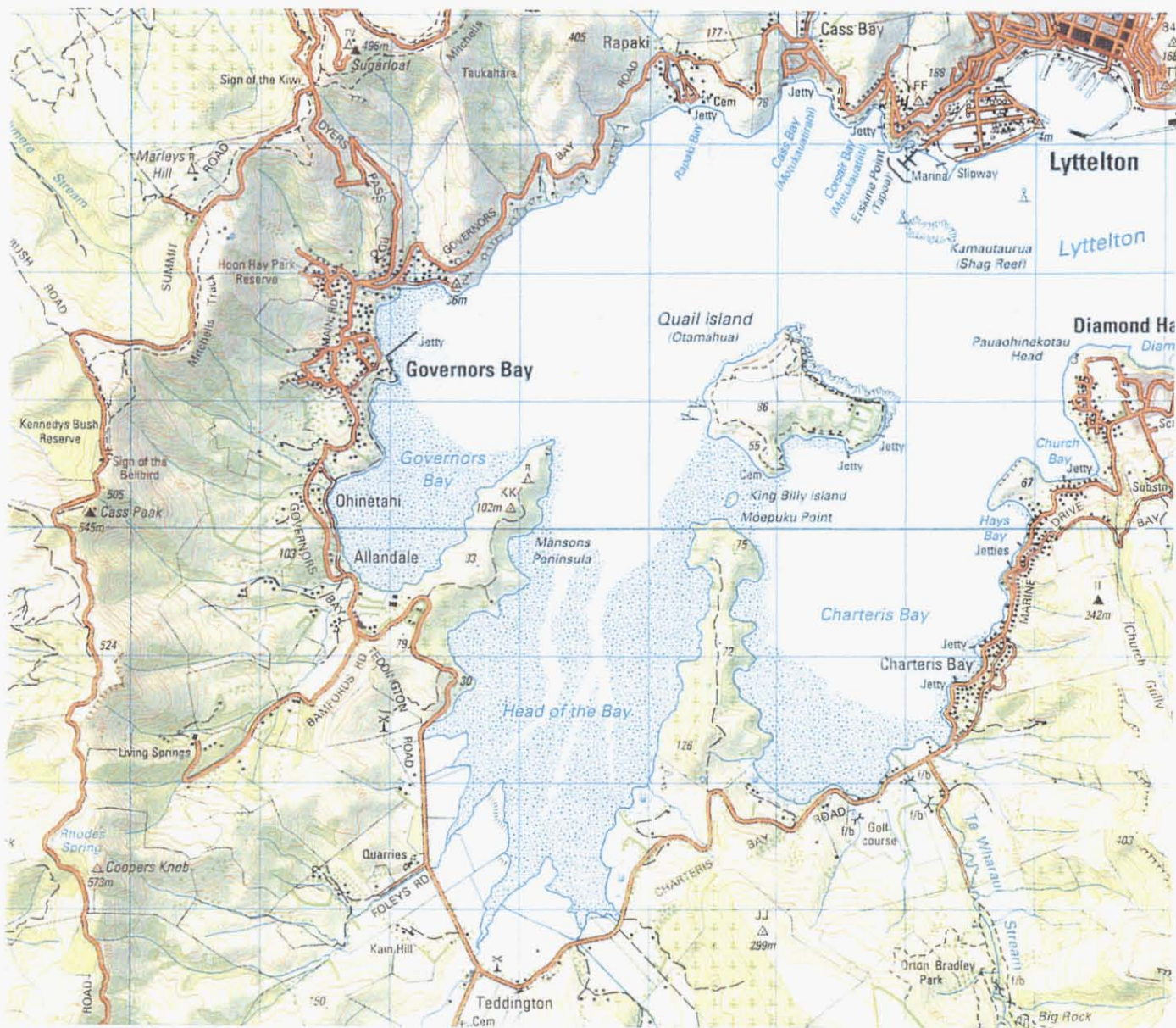
Just as discourses are historically and culturally specific, they are also dynamic and changing and continually negotiating for power. This approach therefore emphasises the social construction of ideas, and stresses the recognition and analysis of their origins.

1.5 Significance of research

Little work has been done in Aotearoa/New Zealand in exploring the discourses of landscape and how they effect landscape management. Bowring³ has examined the way

² Barnes & Duncan, (1992) p5

³ Bowring J.(1997)



Map 3: Lyttelton Harbour/Whakaraupo

the conventions of the picturesque have influenced the New Zealand landscape as evidenced in the discourse of the New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects, while others have looked at the representation of the landscape in various texts such as painting or film.⁴

This study extends these threads and although of a microscale⁵ landscape, it has potential significance at a national scale. New Zealand's landscape is a crucial part of

⁴ See Pitts, (1992) in *The Body of the Land*, Rae, J, et al (eds) and Minson (1993) although not explicitly using discourse analysis, their readings are based on the textual metaphor.

⁵ The actual area covered by the foreshore reserves is quite small, although several kilometres long it is only approximately twenty metres wide.

the nation's self image; a source of pride for Pakeha that replaces a lack of European history in this country,⁶ and a spiritual base for Māori culture.

Further understanding the manner in which landscape issues are played out is critical to developing the ability to manage both policies and change effectively. Understanding Pakeha constructions of nature and culture is also a necessary part of New Zealand's move toward becoming a truly bicultural country. To communicate fully with another, one first must understand oneself. In landscape terms this means moving beyond the recognition of the role of scenery in the national psyche to a search for real understanding of attitudes to the landscape and its management. This study is an attempt to further such understanding and fills the void in critical considerations of the way people relate to the landscape in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

1.6 Context

1.6.1 Governors Bay...

At the southeastern end of Lyttelton Harbour lies Governors Bay⁷. A small residential community, close to Christchurch, its attraction is based on its proximity to the sea and sense of isolation from the city. The foreshore of much of the bay is vested in reserves and the rest is unformed road. The two form a buffer between the privately owned residential property behind and the beach below.

This conjunction of public foreshore and private land is typical of seafront communities and indeed many areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand where there is a so-called Queen's Chain.⁸ Although the primary management issue in these instances is often that of public access, as this case study illustrates, the variety of meanings people attribute to the landscape can make management of landscapes of any scale a site of conflict and a focus for public concern.

1.6.2 ...And me

Governors Bay is an area I explored thoroughly as a child. As summertime residents from 1960 till the early 1980s, my family and I knew and loved 'the bay' and at that

⁶ Head, L in King (1991) p23

⁷ For brevity's sake I sometimes refer to Governors Bay as 'the bay.'

⁸ It has been estimated that the Queen's chain exists on only some 60% of our significant waterways, lakes and coastline and is in fact composed of a variety of legal entities: margin strips, esplanade reserves and roads, both formed and unformed.

time witnessed with regret its transition from a small bach⁹ and farming community with the development of new housing for urban commuters. Nearly two decades later it is a highly desirable residential neighbourhood, its sense of identity strengthened by its isolated location.



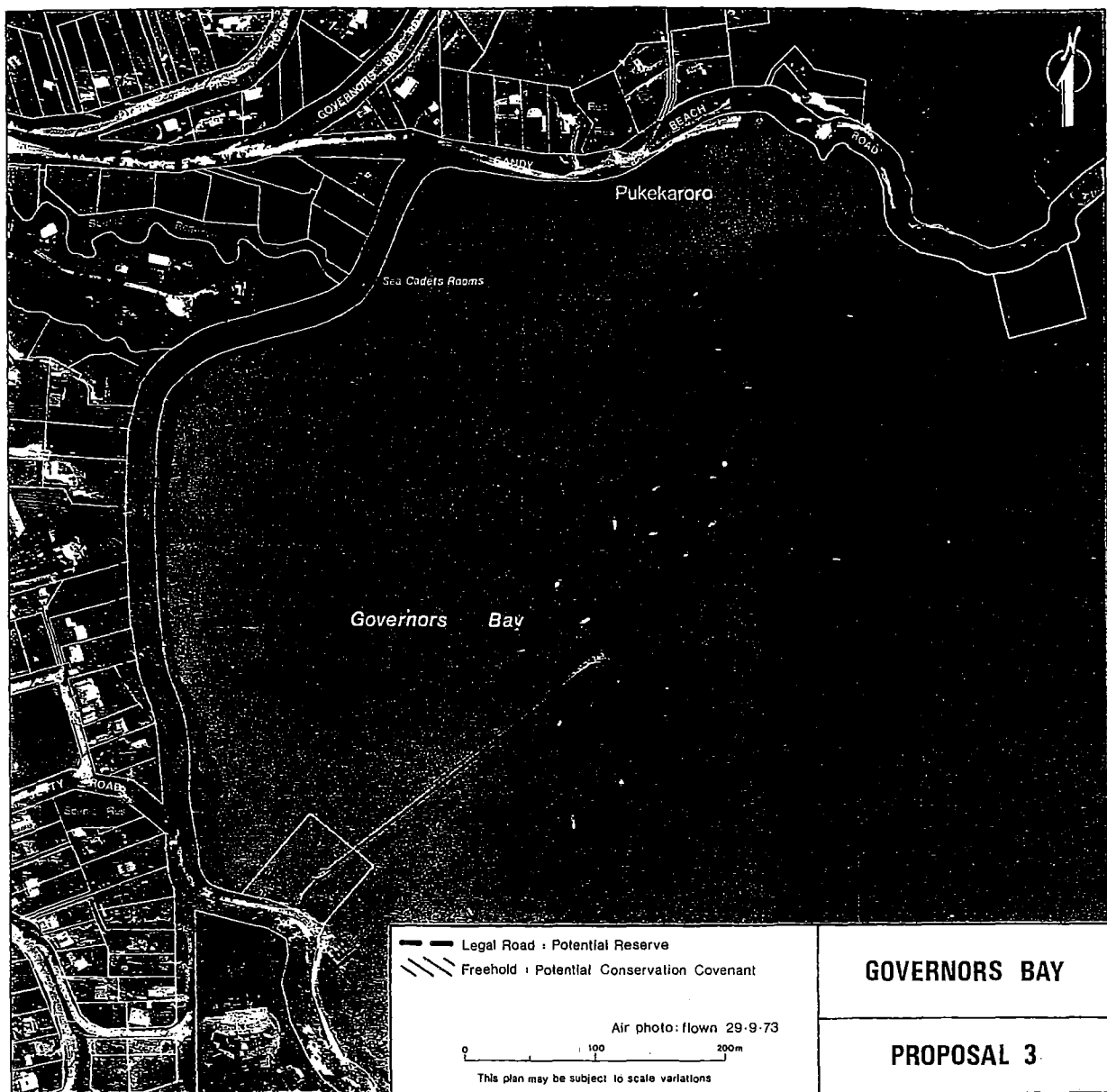
Plate 2: The author on Sandy Bay Beach age nine years

1.6.3 The Study Area

The area that I have focussed on in this study is the publicly owned foreshore. A narrow strip of land that for the most part slopes steeply up from the shore to a height of twenty to thirty metres. Covered in a mixture of exotic and indigenous grasses, shrubs and small trees, much of the area is or has been heavily eroded.

Road access is gained at Sandy Bay Beach and at the jetty, from where the 'old road' still runs around to Allandale. This road was built in the late eighteen hundreds and sits above a stone retaining wall. In the last two decades a track has been cut from the jetty to Sandy Bay and on past Maori Gardens.

⁹ New Zealand vernacular for holiday cottage.



Drawn by Department of Lands & Survey, Christchurch

Ref P 266

FIG 8

Map 4: Cadastral overlay on Governors Bay

1.6.4 Legislative Context

The principal piece of legislation governing landscape management in New Zealand is the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). This act replaced a large number of planning and management Acts and is a blend of neoliberal market driven orthodoxies and concern for the environment. In terms of landscape management this meant a move away from a prescriptive style of planning to a focus on controlling the consequences of resource use. That is, the role of government, in this instance through planning, is to address situations where the market has failed.

In the RMA this means rather than prescriptive controls for development, there is a consideration of the *effects* of proposed developments on *landscape* and *amenity values*. Neither of these is clearly defined. However case law has broadened the definition of landscape to include both the way the physical landscape is “*perceived and experienced*” and the “*values*” that humans attribute to the landscape.¹⁰

1.6.5 Devolution of landscape management

As the swing to a neoliberal / free market orthodoxy has continued, parties of both the mid left and mid right have espoused a decreased role for government. Utilising a discourse of community empowerment, government both central and local attempted to divest themselves of responsibility for everything from schools to reserves.

The devolution of control of resources is a two-edged sword. On the one hand it returns control to the hands of the community perhaps most directly concerned with the outcomes of resource use. On the other it lays open the larger community to the aims of small vested-interest groups. Since such devolution of control has generally appeared to be concurrent with a reduction in the level of access to money and other resources, it may also be leading to further stratification within New Zealand society as differences in levels of education and income between communities, affect their abilities to replace services formerly provided by government.

¹⁰ New Zealand Planning Tribunal Decision No W114/94

1.6.6 Local Government

At the local government level the entire Banks Peninsula is controlled by the Banks Peninsula District Council, formed in 1989. To facilitate community interaction with the council, this extensive area has been broken into smaller areas represented by community boards. These consist of councillors and local residents who are elected to the boards. As part of the current retrenchment of Government, the responsibility for management of many aspects of these vested reserve lands and unformed roads have devolved to the local community board.

In many areas there are also community associations, dealing with more local issues and feeding into the community boards and thence the council. The associations are independent of the council and the Governors Bay Residents Association is a particularly active and effective advocate. So much so that residents of the bay felt that the council viewed Governors Bay as a continual source of, if not trouble, then work.¹¹

1.7 *Structure of the thesis*

Chapter Two further expands the ideas touched upon above and situates them and this project in their theoretical context. Chapter Three addresses the methodology used, situating it in qualitative and ethnographic traditions and describing the creation of the corpus. Chapter Four considers [re]presentations of Governors Bay in art and in a history of landscape management in Governors Bay. Chapter Five continues the teasing out of the discourses of landscape from within the speech of the interviewees and considers their origins and sources. The final chapter continues the consideration of the themes and their implications for theory and practice of landscape management both generally and more specifically for Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

The structure of the thesis follows a traditional research model, positioning itself in theoretical and methodological settings before introducing the case study. For a reading that is focused on Governors Bay, read Chapters One, Four, Five and Six. For an alternative strand with an emphasis on management, read Chapter One followed by section 2.5, and Chapter Four starting at 4.3.

¹¹ Resident interview

Chapter 2. Theories of landscape, discourse and management

2.1 Introduction

Early positivist approaches to the landscape modelled the management making process as rational and apolitical with language a neutral medium of description. In this study I adopt an approach that both critiques these 'naive' assumptions, and also recognises the contingent nature of language and its role in constituting our subjective realities.

This chapter begins with a brief history of landscape theory, proceeds to consider the nature of discourse, and then critically considers the concept of landscape management. While paying attention to criticisms of the textual metaphor specifically and representational theory in general, I establish a theoretical position that incorporates those criticisms and is responsive to the aims of this project.

First I need to clarify some definitions. When I speak of *landscape* I am referring to a social construction, both the way the physical landscape is "*perceived and experienced*" and the "*values*" that humans attribute to the landscape.¹² When using the term *environment*, I am referring to the external intra-subjective physical reality, what is commonly called the 'real world'.

2.2 Early conceptions of the landscape

In Britain, France and the United States early studies of the landscape focused on the translation of natural landscapes into cultural. By the 1930s, Sauer and the Berkeley School of geographers had conceived the landscape as the site on which a culture could engrave its cultural processes. They viewed the resulting landscape as observable evidence of process and change, and concentrated on recording its artefacts and characteristics. Like a science, this process of observation was considered objective and neutral; the result having a material fixity that facilitated simple analysis and interpretation. Also like a science, this method was based on a reductionist epistemology in which the nature of the whole could be explained by study of the component parts.

¹² New Zealand Planning Tribunal Decision No W114/94

One of the implications of this model is the perception of change as apolitical. Change is centred in an external objective landscape, and human agency is acknowledged as instigative. Neither the process that lead to changes in the landscape or the role of change within culture, for example change in the meanings attributed to landscape, are afforded significance.

2.3 Expansion of landscape studies...

As the twentieth century progressed, studies of landscape followed several paths. Initially the mainstream followed neo-classical location theory in geography and the “quantitative revolution.” Operating in an often unstated positivist framework, the search for models to explain spatial differentiation was based on a “preoccupation with *rational* action and *rational* landscapes,”¹³ with the importance of the models being based on their use as instrumental tools for the allocation of “means to ends.”¹⁴

Reaction against so much rationality and its perceived endpoint in Weber’s “iron cage of capitalist modernity”¹⁵ led to alternative philosophies being brought into landscape studies from sociology and cultural geography. Trying to recognise some of the subjective nature of the interaction between humans and their environment, the geographer Lowenthal suggested that we all live in personal worlds that are real, but that cover just a fraction of the available worlds.

The surface of the earth is shaped for each person by refraction through cultural and personal lenses of custom and fancy. We are all artists and landscape architects, creating order and organising space, time and causality in accordance with our apperceptions and predilections.¹⁶

In the 1970s Relph’s reaction against positivism brought phenomenology to landscape. He argued that there is no objective world to be viewed, but that “all knowledge proceeds from the world of experience and cannot be independent of that world.”¹⁷ Phenomenology is concerned with how individuals structure their world, and give meaning to the landscapes they inhabit. The phenomenological researcher acknowledges no subjectivity, but impartially and without presupposition studies how the subjects give meaning to their

¹³ Gregory, D. (1994) in *Human Geography* p89 (emphasis in original)

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ Max Weber in Gregory *ibid* p88

¹⁶ Lowenthal (1963) in Gregory, *ibid* p177

¹⁷ Relph (1976) P193

world. Relph is perhaps best known for his work on “sense of place,” addressing the “abstraction inherent in the concept of space”¹⁸ and attempting to recognise the human attachment and meaning that accrue to locations with time.

Although its search for essences suggests phenomenology has a broad society level analysis, the theory is focussed on the individual’s experience of the world.

Phenomenologists decried the goal of explanation and prediction inherent in behavioural work and perhaps because of this they produced much theory but little guidance for practical policy.

A wider view of the inter-relationship of landscape and society came from sociology with the concept of cultural meanings:

The meaning of anything and everything has to be formed, learned and transmitted through a process of indication, a process that is necessarily a social process. Human group life is a vast process in which people are forming, sustaining and transforming the objects of their world as they give meaning to their objects...¹⁹

Here the very process of attributing and conveying meaning is constituting objects as it occurs. This idea, part of symbolic interactionism as espoused by Bloor, was to become critical to landscape studies. For landscapes, even when produced almost incidentally as a part of the “struggle for survival,”²⁰ are created by a human society that has consciousness and values. As Baker puts it “landscapes of material are also landscapes of meaning: praxis is itself symbolic, all landscapes are symbolic in practice.”²¹

The final strand I wish to draw into landscape studies is that of Marxism. Providing the only alternative tradition to post-enlightenment thought in the west, Marxism has long recognised the role of the rationalist epistemology in preserving and protecting class interests. Landscape studies was one of the last areas of the social sciences to adopt Marxist ideas, and initially this meant using them to decry the apolitical and asocial aspects of spatial analysis.

¹⁸ Simon (1995) p15

¹⁹ Bloor in Simon *ibid*

²⁰ Baker & Biger (1992) p8

²¹ *ibid* p9

In later landscape studies the Marxist approach is commonly associated with the views of Cosgrove. He used a dialectical materialist analysis to reveal the landscape as an expression of the ideological struggle between classes. For Cosgrove, landscape

represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature²²

In the 1980s Marxism came to be criticised as a form of structuralism that placed an overemphasis on the role of social structures rather than people as the site of social purposefulness.²³ Further criticisms cited Marxism for its universalist tendencies and its conflation of the diversity and fragmentary nature of the social in a meta-theory of class conflict.

2.4 *The Post Structuralist Landscape*

By the late 1980's the recording of cultural traces, or 'spoor mapping',²⁴ of the Berkeley School and the structuralism of Marxism had combined with the concern for meaning in landscapes. This concentration on meaning has produced a new range of metaphors for landscape: the geological, with layers, strata and underlying structures; the dynamic, with theatre, and dance; the ecological with a focus on systems; and the literary with palimpsests and texts. The last of these is the idea that landscapes can be interpreted as a text, which is read as a textual transformation of other texts within a culture.

Duncan and Duncan developed this latter work with their transference of Post-structural ideas of text and intertextuality from literary theory to landscape interpretation. Their work provides the model for the conception of landscape and social process that I will adopt in this thesis. I wish however to look beyond the consideration of landscape as location, to the way people interact with the environment; the nature and process of management itself. By focussing on management I capture some of the dynamism in the social, the environment and the landscape. In this way I address the first of the criticisms of

²² Cosgrove, Denis (1998) p15

²³ Duncan and Ley (1993)

²⁴ Duncan (1994) p117

representational theory discussed later, that it focuses on a snapshot in time. First however I look at the way the Duncans have formulated their conception of landscape.

2.4.1 [Re]reading the landscape²⁵

Utilising the metaphor of landscape as text the Duncans have drawn together theories of the reading of texts and the notion of authorship, in order to analyse landscapes as expressions of discourses and hence as “transformations of ideology.”²⁶ I will return to the question of ideology shortly.

The Duncans begin by comparing landscapes and texts, as defined by Barthes, and draw these parallels:

- landscapes are (generally) anonymously authored
- although they may be symbolic, landscapes are seldom referential and
- landscapes are highly intertextual creations of the reader as much as they are products of the society that produced them.²⁷

The Duncans then go on to reject the idea of the infinitely referential text. They consider that the range of readings of a landscape is limited by the cultural and historical specificity of its setting. This view is in contrast with Barthes’ “nauseating void of signifiers,”²⁸ a reference to the supposed infinite cycle of sign and meaning. They stress the importance of grounding the landscape/text in its historical and culturally specific context. Here they adopt a Foucauldian perspective that allows them to sidestep pure relativism, and tie their theory back to the ‘real world’ and to a role in a progressive social science.

Landscape then can be conceptualised as a highly specific text, but to understand how it came to be, we must investigate the specificities of its construction. To do this requires a consideration of the context of its construction, and this leads into the study of discourse.

²⁵ The title of this section refers to the Duncans’ seminal article.

²⁶ Duncan Op cit p117

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ Mitchell in Bowring, J (1997) p53

2.4.2 Discourse

All forms of text are produced through discursive practices...embedded in social relations of power and ideology which give authority to some texts while subverting others. The point here is that texts are created through discursive processes.²⁹

Although there is a great range in definitions of discourse, and they vary widely in their attitude to the nature of reality in an ontological sense, they all share an aversion to realism in an epistemological sense. That is, they reject the possibility of the existence of knowledge as distinct from human activity and experience.³⁰ They share the view that there is no 'outside' or objective position from which to view our world.

Conceptions of discourse range from discourse as narrative lines of speech, to broader groupings of language, objects and actions. The scale of analysis being contemplated and the answers being sought affects the definition one uses. For my purposes the definition given by the Duncans serves as a starting point. I will expand later on the model I adopt. The Duncans define discourses as: "...particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action."³¹ The Duncans emphasise the situated nature of discourse, and that it always provides a partial truth. They note its cultural and historical specificity and they also emphasise its dynamic nature. Discourses are not rigid, deterministic frames but fields where ideas are communicated, negotiated or challenged.³²

To the Duncans discourses are expressions of ideology, yet this is not an uncontested view. In maintaining a hierarchal relationship between ideology and practice they differ from Foucault who elided the distinction; he found that when using ideology he was unable to avoid implications of falsehood. The Duncans maintenance of this hierarchy has been blamed for an over-simplification of the relationships between discourses and because of this, difficulty explaining events affected by multiple axes of social power.³³

Discourses also fulfil a constitutive role. Foucault in his later work suggests that we should no longer be just "treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements

²⁹ Aitken (1997) in Barnes and Duncan op cit

³⁰ MacNaghten, P in Burman & Parker (1993) p53

³¹ Barnes & Duncan J S (1992) p8

³² Potteiger, M Purinton, J (1997)

referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.”³⁴ This point is significant when we consider the larger epistemological issue of representation: that is, how what we say relates to what we are describing. Theory does not merely function as a description. When we talk about discourse, text or landscape, Foucault believes our use of language is constructing these terms as we speak.

It is not just that these concepts are contested...it is that the entities they are supposed to represent are not ‘already there’ in existence in a wholly determinate form, prior to our talk about them.³⁵

Other Criticisms of the model

As well as the criticism above, it has also been claimed that the Duncans treat landscape as a coherent text with identifiable meanings waiting to be discovered, assumedly by the knowledgeable researcher. If so they run the risk of effacing any cultural or other distinction between the researcher/ reader and the landscape, and privilege the view and understanding of the researcher over that of the subject. This also privileges certain aspects of the researcher’s knowledge; in particular the verbal / visual at the expense of the kinaesthetic or acoustic and ignores or denies the embodied nature of human experience.³⁶

A final criticism of the textual metaphor itself is that it neglects the role of non-human actors, privileging the role of human actors and actions. For although the landscape is a social construct, the environment, however amended or altered by humans, goes on its own way regardless.

Nature herself [sic] always enters into the contract to supersede the encodings of mankind [sic]. Indeed, nature’s infinite complexity will in itself continue to challenge landscape situations and metaphors.³⁷

Thus there is interplay between the world of natural process and its constant interpretation and reinterpretation by humans. Although our technologies may largely insulate us from

³³ Baker (1992) p9

³⁴ Foucault, M (1972) p49

³⁵ Duncan and Ley (1993) p373

³⁶ Thrift (1996) p7

³⁷ Corner (1991) p131

the effects of “nature”, we are still linked symbolically to seasonal and diurnal cycles. In landscape we study both dynamic systems, nature and culture. Both are ever changing, independently and through being changed by each other. The nature of these changes in human terms is conceived of and known through discourse.

2.4.3 A model of discourse: the case study as nexus

*nexus: a connected group, a series or network. 2 a bond, a connection*³⁸

In my work, I extend the use of the textual metaphor for landscape to the analysis of discourses present in the community management of the landscape. It is useful when trying to capture the dynamism of such processes to consider discourses to be existing in more than one form. Discourse could for example, be seen to simultaneously exist as a field and a thread. In the former, discourse is simultaneously a field of relations or layer with a topography. In some places it intersects other layers, and in other places is apart from them; thus it varies through space. Yet in the latter the discourse is like the thread of a story, wending its way through the fabric of social reality, changing through time. The points of intersection of these threads or fields are the points of negotiation or contestation. Between them they construct our realities.

Rather than seeking or following the threads of a specific discourse, I am exploring some of the plurality of opinion that exists in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, using this case study as a nexus to allow a clearer view of the competing discourses. I am seeking to explore some of the breadth of ideas and attitudes that compose what Wetherell and Potter term the: “Heterogeneous and layered texture of practices, arguments and representations which make up the taken for granted in a particular society.”³⁹

The discourses I am seeking define and control landscape management practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand at the beginning of the Twenty-first Century. I begin in the next part of this chapter a critical consideration of the current discourses of landscape management.

³⁸ Oxford Compact English Dictionary 1996

³⁹ Wetherall and Potter (1992) p1

2.5 *Landscape management*

2.5.1 Introduction

Despite the large number of books, articles and websites associated with landscape management, many of the references gloss over the foundations of the subject. Rather than considering the assumptions that underlie practice, they deal with the details of procedures. This is true to such an extent that landscape management is often equated with landscape maintenance.



Plate 3: Foreshore track between Scout Den and Sandy Bay

In this study the naturalised truths that underlie landscape management are where I begin. Although some of the assumptions of landscape management have been challenged recently, in particular by growing awareness of the issue of sustainability, those challenges have generally been at the level of practice, rather than a critique of the epistemology of management itself. In general landscape management is seen as a scientific, rational process, yet as I shall show, this is only one paradigm.

In this section I briefly demonstrate how different conceptions of landscape have implications for management practice. I then explore a wider meaning of landscape management. I use a wider definition of landscape management in this study for two reasons. First, to avoid the suggestion there is an inevitable, logical progress from 'other' ways of interacting with the environment, to the current rational management model, and second, to emphasise that all modes are products of their cultural and historical setting.

2.5.2 Management implications of...

Different conceptions of the landscape result in different management strategies by defining the range of options and choices available. To clarify simply the management implications of some of the differing discourses of landscape, I shall compare the implications of early conceptions of the landscape as described above with those of the post-structuralist landscape.

...Early conceptions of the landscape

As stated above, early conceptions of the landscape modelled it as apolitical and allowed change to be simply witnessed in an external objective landscape. Human agency was only acknowledged as instigative of change; neither change in the landscape or within culture was afforded significance.

Given such a framework, landscape management could be carried out in a rational management discourse. Neutral observation would provide unbiased data upon which a correct or at least rational decision could be made. The process was seen as political only in so far as the setting of goals; the human/ environment relationship and the management process itself were naturalised. As the basis of the decision making process was rational, scientifically gathered information, it was the role of the manager to determine the appropriate outcome/action. There was little need seen for community participation; the role of the manager was paramount.

...Post-Structuralist Landscape

Post-Structuralist ideas of discourse and text are explained more fully above. Here it suffices to say that they recognise the existence of multiple discourses, and the political effects of language and knowledge upon both the management process and the constitution

of the subjects of management themselves. Given this analysis, an understanding of management practices must begin with a critical examination of management discourses. Such analysis opens wide the range of management options, through exposing the variety of relationships people have with the environment. Concurrently this may broaden the relationships people have with the management process itself. This has implications for furthering community participation and control of community resources, one of the goals of devolution.

Whether through the creation of the legal framework of management or through direct management of the landscape itself, government, both central and local have a huge influence on the nature of landscape management. Government has traditionally also played a role in the unification of disparate groups of individuals through the provision of a shared set of aims or goals for a social group. It has also attempted to play the role of mediator through the abstraction of control to a detached rational management process. Motivation for these moves has been seen to lie in the provision of an 'impartial' and 'professional' service to the community: the model bureaucracy so admired by Weber.

With the development of Post-modern, feminist and post-colonialist critiques, the ownership of this rational management discourse has become contested. Its impartiality has been questioned and its naturalised role as a maintainer of the status quo has been challenged. Questions of its gender and ethnic specificity have been raised, and its role in the maintenance of otherness, maintenance of an exclusive epistemology and hence exclusion of certain voices, have come to the forefront of debate.

2.5.3 [Re] Defining Landscape Management

The debates mentioned above do not figure highly in works considering the management of the landscape. Most are generally more concerned with the details of maintenance regimes for specific landscapes,⁴⁰ or concerned with the gathering of information to facilitate the decision making process.⁴¹ Little work appears that considers the social construction of management and its implications for the landscape.

⁴⁰ e.g. Cobham R

⁴¹ e.g. Bennet, David and Thomas, John F.

This work in part addresses this issue and accommodates these considerations through the redefinition of landscape management. Here, within the gamut of landscape management, fall landscape design, maintenance and planning. In this model, any time we make decisions about the landscape we are managing it. Even to categorise an area, as wilderness is management for the decision to do nothing is a management decision.

Within this model also fall non-western methods of management. Until recently such alternative relationships with the environment have not been recognised as management per se, due to them not operating in the same post enlightenment epistemology we associate with management. The extension of the definition of management I now propose must therefore start with recognising the restricted nature of this epistemology and its role in defining what we know and what we accept as knowledge.

2.5.4 Epistemology of management

An epistemology is the theory or method or grounds of knowledge.⁴² It is the rules by which we govern what is acceptable as knowledge, what it is we can know. The critics of post-enlightenment epistemology mentioned above critique it for its belief in a transcendent reason, an inappropriate use of scientific method in the social sciences, its exclusion of alternative ways of knowing and hence exclusion of some types of knowers.

To remedy these exclusions Sandercock⁴³ proposes five additional types of knowledge:

- knowing through dialogue
- knowing through experience
- learning through local knowledge
- learning to read symbolic and non verbal evidence
- learning by doing

These ways of knowing she suggests, can be used with the rationalist scientific epistemology, in a non-hierarchical conjunction, which will allow a poly-vocal and fuller

⁴² Concise Oxford Dictionary

⁴³ Sandercock (1998) p76 for a detailed discussion.

basis for knowing. In this study I access this broader range of knowing through the analysis of discourse.

Given the complex and heterogeneous conception of landscape, recognised here, Sandercock's ideas bring another dimension to landscape management. Yet while they will broaden the knowledge basis on which management discourses operate, it is important to remember that discourses do not exist in isolation but in culturally and historically specific settings. Management discourses are themselves constructed from, by and within, other discourses. Inherent in all of these discourses are ideas and values that resonate and echo between them. Discourses are, after all, abstracted orderings of the social. They are like threads simultaneously weaving through many fabrics. Thus inherent in landscape management discourses in Aotearoa/New Zealand are ideas of control, tidiness, and ownership that resonate with larger ideas in the Judaeo Christian culture that produced western capitalism.

2.5.5 Values implicit in management discourses

The domination over earth and its resources authorised by the Judaeo-Christian god has long given western society its moral imperative to develop and manage the environment. This ability to do so may be at the same time, human's greatest attribute and our greatest liability. We have gone far beyond the simple provision of shelter and food. The systems we have created to generate wealth and comfort are as equally employed in producing symbolic meaning.

This applies as much to landscapes as to other consumables. Of particular note in Aotearoa/ New Zealand has been the influence of the picturesque; the conventions of which are derived from the idealised landscapes of Italian and French landscape painting in the seventeenth century. This has now evolved in to a primarily visual way of relating to the landscape; landscape as scenery. The idealisation has become a concern for tidiness and control that is valued over, or is sometimes mistaken for ecological health.

It is clear from the work of Nassauer that evidence of human management of the environment increases the value that people attribute to certain landscapes. Nassauer

coined the term 'cues to care' for the clues that her subjects read to give meaning to the landscape.⁴⁴

Whatever the style of landscape, the compulsion of people to make their mark upon their environment is clear. Perhaps it is a counterpoint to the discourses that define us as discrete subjects in an uncontrollable world that we feel the need to physically mark our human existence.

2.5.6 Implicit assumptions

Uncritical landscape management discourses are also underlain by certain assumptions about the nature of management. The first of these is that management has a goal. Whether development or preservation is the desired outcome, management is about marshalling resources to work toward it. Second is a belief in the rationality of the process. Management consists of the gathering of certain types of knowledge upon which the 'best' decision can then be made. Third, management is the way to a better future. This assumption stems from an evolutionary model of progress, the very modern idea that with more knowledge and better decisions, the world could be made into a better place.

These assumptions and values underpin what I term the 'traditional' model of management. This is that management is a technical task and that goals and aspirations can be met through delegating to 'experts'.

As discussed above the questioning of the epistemology, values and assumptions of management itself can create a space for a reviewed and renewed concept of management; a management that is inclusive and all encompassing. In the next section I look at a framework for assessing the likelihood of success for such a paradigm of management.

2.6 Community management

2.6.1 Introduction

Community management is a term that refers to the taking of responsibility for and control of local resources, by the local community. This is as opposed to a centralised governmental management regime. Community management is the stated aim of

⁴⁴ Nassauer, J (1995) p161

devolution of governmental power such as has occurred in Governors Bay with the foreshore reserves. This is allowed under section 34 of the Resource Management Act, which pertains to delegation of functions, by local authorities.

2.6.2 Who is the community?

Models of community management are numerous but all raise some of the same issues. Principal of these is what or who comprise the community? This can also be rephrased as who are the stakeholders? or, who gets to participate?

The composition of the stakeholder community is a key issue. It influences the choice of criteria for involvement and the authority of decision-makers. The relationship of the participants to the wider community is also at issue. As community management does not occur in a vacuum, connections to other governmental bodies or organisations need to be considered⁴⁵

Duane has suggested that there are at least three types of community;

- 1) communities of place, tied together by geography
- 2) communities of identity which may transcend place and
- 3) communities of interest, which may have commonalities in how they relate to a resource.⁴⁶

He stresses the need to reconcile the aims of these different communities but sees this as a challenge for democracy, not managers.⁴⁷ For while the needs or aims of communities, government and organisations need to be reconciled with one another, the process of negotiation between them must be open and transparent.

A study of such process is beyond the scope of this work, but what is of interest is the ability of Governors Bay to support such a process, one that may include reconciliation, communication, education and participation. Of particular interest is what can be seen to predicate success.

⁴⁵ Herrick (1996) p23

⁴⁶ Duane (1997) p2

⁴⁷ *ibid*

2.6.3 Social Capital

Community management places demands on communities to participate and work together for the 'common good.' The term social capital has been coined to explain this process. In analogy to the terms of human capital and physical capital, social capital represents features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks of co-operation and reciprocity, civic engagement and strong community identities. This concept has been used in studies of healthcare,⁴⁸ economics, political science,⁴⁹ and eco-system management.⁵⁰ In these works it is apparent that social capital entails a sort of "generalised reciprocity within dense networks of social organisation."⁵¹ Thus people act not necessarily for immediate personal gain, but for a diffused reward, a satisfaction gained from creating a better place to live. These works also recognise that relationships are "embedded" within a social and cultural matrix that rewards and disciplines, and ensures the smooth workings of the social.

It is clear that any assessment of the potential success or otherwise of the devolution of landscape management control must consider the networks of civic engagement or social capital that may be in place. The only predictor of the success or otherwise of community initiatives so far is "a community's history and tradition of civic engagement."⁵²

Unfortunately this means that those communities that have high levels of social capital are most likely to be successful in building social capital!

None the less to be effective, a management regime must identify significant social networks locate them in discourses and their relevant values, then "translate them into social goals and management objectives and then implement programs that will achieve those objectives."⁵³

⁴⁸ Morrow V. (1999) *Conceptualising social capital in relation to the well being of children and young people.*

⁴⁹ Putnam R. (1993) *Making democracy work, Civic traditions in modern Italy*

⁵⁰ Duane, T (1997) *Community participation in eco-system management*

⁵¹ Putnam, R. (1993) p167

⁵² *ibid*

⁵³ *ibid* p7

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I situated my study in traditions of landscape theory and introduced the model of discourse I shall use. I demonstrated how discourses are constitutive of landscape and landscape management. I then critically examined discourses of landscape management, and suggested why such examination is important. I finished by describing a model of social engagement that sheds light on the likelihood of success for community control of landscape management.

Chapter 3. Research method

3.1 Introduction

The approach I have chosen for this project draws upon discourse analysis, which is a type of qualitative research. All qualitative research involves concept formation as part of the process of data gathering. As one gathers data one constantly examines it and postulates connections. In the description of my work in this chapter I separate the two for clarity's sake. I first place this work in qualitative theory and then consider the specific techniques and methods I employed in the gathering of data to form the corpus. I then describe the reading, coding, analysis and checking that follow, the discourse analysis. I finish with a brief comment on the researcher's obligation to the subjects of inquiry.

3.2 Qualitative Methods

In qualitative research generally, the concern is with the creation and attribution of meaning. To that end the case study is an appropriate manner of work as it allows an in depth knowledge of the subject area to be obtained. The researcher then immerses oneself in the data and in an inductive process, draw out the themes or ideas that become apparent.

Qualitative research is interactive research; it recognises that there is no objective point the observer can occupy and that the process of research affects the subjects. The researcher is in fact part of the research, not only in terms of formulating the questions, but also through one's presence and the role of one's analysis in constituting the story.

In this project I bore in mind the strictures of "A modest sociology."⁵⁴

The main tenets are to be;

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| Non-reductionist | - recognise the incompleteness of the account; consider |
| Symmetry | - privilege nothing, everything is worthy of description; use a |
| Recursive process | - the social is a process, create a sociology of verbs; remember |
| Reflexivity | - the ordering is ours, we are no different from those we study. |

3.3 Using a case study

A case study has been defined by Yin as;

⁵⁴ Laws, J.(1994) p1

an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.⁵⁵

This definition reinforces the appropriateness of the case study to the theoretical framework I employ. Conceptualising the site as a nexus of discourse, recognises both the constitutive role of the discourses and the interconnectedness of their construction with the greater social fabric. This is not the isolated experiment of a clinical trial, but the study of some of the workings of society, looked at through an organising framework.

3.4 *The methodology*

The project began with a document search that provided the background for a narrative of the project site. This continued through the project and provided the legislative, administrative and cultural history used in the narrative of landscape management history. Some material from the interviews was also incorporated into this 'tale' which provided the social and historical grounding for the consideration of the present day discourses gleaned in the second phase.

The second type of methodologies was the ethnographic. This ranged from a series of open-ended interviews with the key participants from within and without the committee, to observations of public meetings and site visits. These two stages produce a body of work, what Foucault terms a corpus of statements.⁵⁶

3.5 *Building the corpus*

A corpus is a body of examples of discursive practices compiled from the total archive of discursive material; current and historical that concerns the field of study. The nature of the corpus inevitably reflects one's initial mental map of the subject and knowledge of what is available. However as the work of gathering material continues, the corpus may well evolve in unexpected ways. In this project the discovery of the photographic record of Governors Bay held at the Alexander Turnbull Library is an example of one such serendipitous change.

⁵⁵ Yin, R (1989) p23

⁵⁶ Foucault (1972) p27

3.5.1 Archival searches

Initial steps in the assembling of the corpus took me deep into the archives. The National Archives of New Zealand in Christchurch contain institutional records of Government Departments (past and current), and the archives and correspondence of the Canterbury Association, responsible for the organised settlement of Pakeha after 1850. They also hold information on the surveying of Canterbury.

Banks Peninsula District Council now holds records for Governors Bay, and its archives hold minute books that concern matters in the harbour for over one hundred years. Other archival sources included the Canterbury Museum and the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library, the New Zealand collection and Art collection at the Canterbury Public Library and the libraries of the Universities of Canterbury and Lincoln.

In these searches I was seeking evidence of the historical development of landscape discourses in Governors Bay. I also sought historical representations of the bay in works of fiction, photography, paintings or any other art form.

3.5.2 In depth interviews

At the basis of this work is the idea that people construct meaning and significance in their lives. It is my contention that they do so within fields of discourse. Thus people operate in complex networks of meaning. One way to access the depth and complexity of these meanings is by extensive interviews.

The interview technique I employed took between one and three hours to complete. I initiated the contacts by telephone and introduced myself as a student of landscape architecture at Lincoln University, interested in the foreshore of Governors Bay. The first two interviewees recognised my family name, and some of the latter ones had heard through the community association that I was interviewing people. All except two interviews took place at the interviewee's home. The remaining two at the interviewees work places in Christchurch. At the start of the interviews I introduced my self and explained my connections with the bay. I think this to some extent established my credentials as a one time local.

In the interviews I asked open-ended questions, that is, questions designed to let the subject speak. I started with a list of questions about length of residence in the bay and

involvement in the bay then moved on to discuss the foreshore.⁵⁷ The questions were all asked in such a way so as to not limit the range of the respondents' answers, yet give them sufficient guidance that they were comfortable knowing what I was interested in. The interview is a balance between "restricting structure and restricting ambiguity."⁵⁸

The open-ended questions allow the respondent to answer in their own words and to define their own terms. There is room for qualification and exceptions. I was careful about expressing strong feelings, as I did not wish to create awkwardness and perhaps preclude the opportunity for the respondent to say what they really thought.

By the same token if the respondent asked for information I gave it if I could. The interview was a two way street- a relationship evolving of trust and honesty. As the respondents were giving to me of their time and selves, I felt an obligation to respond in kind. Fortunately their questions generally came toward the end of the interview, after they had expressed themselves quite fully. This later stage of the interview was also a useful time as in some instances I was able to follow up on some earlier statements and have the respondents expand on some themes. Often the respondents seemed to relax a little after the tape was turned off and talk on. I would then hurry to my car and make notes on what they had said.

In open ended interviewing the interviewer is continually making choices; on whether or not to pursue a line of questions, whether or not to respond to an answer, where to go next, or which leads to follow up. There is no pretence that this is a replicable event. Every interviewer and indeed every interviewee makes different decisions and gains different results.

The participants

The interviewees were all either residents or ex-residents of Governors Bay. In total I interviewed fifteen people, six women and nine men. The initial contacts were people I knew had lived in the bay for a long time, and I utilised the 'snowball' technique to find the others. That is I asked each interviewee whom they thought I should speak with.

⁵⁷ See sample in Appendix A

⁵⁸ Jones S. (1985) p47

This technique can be criticised for providing a self-selecting group, of perhaps like minded people. I therefore augmented this group by adding people who were involved in different organisations and some who were involved in none. In addition I sought out people who lived both close to the foreshore and well away, 'up the hill.' I also sought out people whom I thought might provide 'negative examples', by this I mean contrasting views that would challenge my constructs.

This provided a range of involvements in the bay, a range of physical relationships with the foreshore and a range of ages from mid thirties to over seventy. The majority of the interviewees were or had been in some kind of professional employment and had at least some level of tertiary education. They were all extremely articulate, interested in the bay, and knew something about some aspect of the natural history, be it plant names or ecological process.

Only one of the interviewees was not forthcoming with ideas and comments. With all of the others I established a good rapport, and judging by body language and tone of voice the interviewees enjoyed the opportunity to 'say their bit.' There was no sense that they felt constricted by the process or were anything less than forthcoming. I was endeavouring to ask no leading questions, but most respondents were so eager to talk that this was barely an issue.

Choice of transcription method and implications

Once completed the interviews were transcribed, generally within twenty-four hours. The transcription method cannot hope to capture every nuance of a conversational interaction and so I utilised a simple coding, designating overlaps and interjections. Once transcribed I then listened to the tapes again with a copy of the transcript and annotated it with ancillary information where significant. Such information consisted of tone, mood or energy, for example vehemency or otherwise. As I was seeking evidence of discourse and its influence on social process, it was not necessary to record as much detail as would be necessary, for example, for a grammatical analysis.

Steps to ensure anonymity

The interviews were taped and the tapes marked with a code. All transcriptions carried only that code, the key to which was kept in a separate and secure place. In transcription,

all identifying information was removed and new names were ascribed. Tapes are also being kept in a secure place and upon completion of the project shall be destroyed.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a category of research that actually subsumes interviews. I here use it to categorise two main activities, the attending of public meetings and the observation of people using the foreshore.

I attended a number of Community Board meetings at which issues concerning the foreshore were raised. My attendance entailed sitting in the section of chairs reserved for the public and making notes on what occurred. I was able to hear what was said quite clearly and recorded body language and other matters as necessary. I also (inadvertently) attended a site visit made by the Community Board members to the foreshore to view an area of contestation.

On the way to a Community Board meeting I stopped to view the area of the foreshore to be discussed. The board members had done the same and were just leaving the area when I arrived. This meant I was able to observe the negotiation and movement toward consensus that occurred outside of the formal meeting. This raised issues of transparency for the political process, and demonstrated the difficulty in capturing a dynamic process such as landscape management through snapshots. It also demonstrates the role of serendipity in research.

Site visits were a good source of information in that they allowed informal interaction with and observation of people using the foreshore. Although not necessarily providing any 'tangible data,' these visits were a part of immersing myself in the site and gaining an understanding of the meanings that people were trying to articulate in the interviews.

3.6 *Analysis of the Corpus*

Discourse analysis takes many forms and utilises many different analytic units. The approach to discourse I adopt derives also from the work of McNaughten. He designates discourse as an analytic unit and defines it in terms of the "social relationships it implies

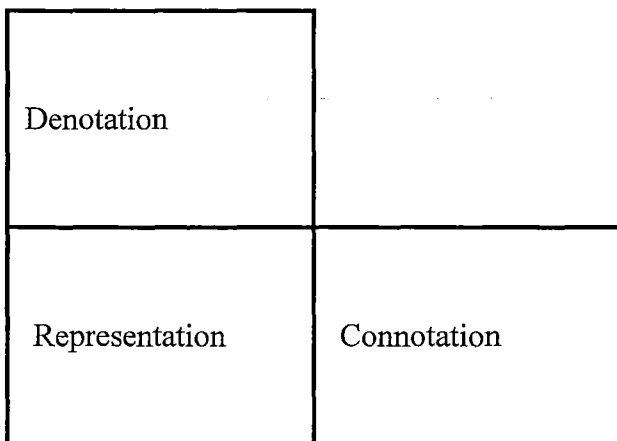
and the human uses it legitimates.”⁵⁹ This sets the stage for analysis at the level of social function rather than individual grammar.

3.6.1 Reading the texts - constructions of Governors Bay

Governors Bay has long been a subject of representation. Yet it would be a mistake to treat these representations as mere mimesis, for these representations are reflexive texts, revealing of our ideas and culture. They also influence and are influenced by our relationships with the landscapes in which we live. As texts, they are at once, both “partial and politically inflected.”⁶⁰

This reflexivity makes clear that texts simultaneously reference themselves, the manner of their production, and the idea or fiction of their representation.⁶¹ A painting or other text is thus at the same time referring as much to itself as to the thing it [re]presents. For what is represented is a landscape constituted by discourse- it is not ‘just the real world’.

In her work on the picturesque Bowring mapped this distinction with the ‘L’ diagram⁶². Through representation, the denoted landscape and the cultural connotations of the image are linked. Through the representation each speaks to and influences the other.



A similar mapping reveals the relationship of discourses of the ideal landscape with the ‘real’ world.

⁵⁹ Macnaghten (1993) p55

⁶⁰ Soper (1999) p55

⁶¹ Hunt, J. D. (1999) p79

⁶² Bowring (1997) p59

<p style="text-align: center;">‘Real’ (Governors Bay)</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">[Re]presentation</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Ideal (discourse)</p>

Bowring developed this model to “conceptualise the idea of myth.”⁶³ Here I use it to clarify the way discourse and the landscape affect each other through representation. How one is seen through the other. The question then stands, how to approach these texts, how to access the discourses that constitutes their meaning.

Post-structuralist readings seek to de-naturalise or destabilise the meanings inherent in the text. Such readings seek to ascertain in what “space or order knowledge was constituted; on the basis of what historical *a priori* ideas could appear.”⁶⁴ This suggests a reading attentive to the social and cultural preconditions of a text’s creation. Such a reading subjects a work to a critical and detailed analysis and has been termed a “close reading.”⁶⁵

The results of such a reading of these representations and their role in the construction of Governors Bay takes place in Chapter Four. First however I explain the processes of the second phase of the research, the in depth interviews.

3.6.2 Reading the texts - the interviews

I have broken the study of the interviews into two parts that are related in a circular rather than linear manner. The first of these is coding; the second is the analysis. However with analysis the need may arise for further coding and so on to more analysis. The final step is then to tie the analysis back to the social and historical specificity of the case study, in a

⁶³ ibid p60
⁶⁴ Foucault, M (1989) p22
⁶⁵ Bowring J (1997) p53

hermeneutic or interpretative act.⁶⁶ Thompson argues this last step is critical, to enable one to make the argument that discourse is implicated in the creation and maintenance of particular social structures or forms.

Coding the interviews

The coding of materials is a searching through for themes. Both consistencies and inconsistencies are sought, for both reveal facets of discourse and both may occur in the same text. Variability is appreciated in discourse analysis for it is not the speakers that are the object of study but the words, which in their consistencies lead to discourse.

Coding entails a “close reading”⁶⁷ of the corpus and the marking of themes. I commenced this work with some themes already suggested, as they had been apparent in the archival searches and I had pursued them further in the interviews. Others did not become apparent until I was reading the interviews, time and time again. Then as the themes began to emerge I would photocopy the transcriptions or other sources, cut them up and group them.

Analysis

Coding of the data involved organising it into themes. Themes may concern things, places or ideas; they represented threads or continuities (usually) through the corpus. In this work I sought discourses that were sometimes apparent in more than one theme. Grouping and regrouping occurred throughout the data gathering process and afterwards. A first pass through provided general themes, then reading of notes on notes and data from other sources allowed the gradual refining of the discourses. I then began making notes on the discourses and used these to add further organisation and structure. Entering the corpus into the computer at this stage allowed the incorporation of notes and corpus into the beginnings of a document.

Triangulation between interviews and other sources allowed the discovery of a number of differences between interviewees’ accounts of events. This was especially true of the accounts of the more contentious topics in the bay. As realities are assumed to be multiple,

⁶⁶ Thompson J. in Wetherell and Potter (1992) p102

⁶⁷ Bowring op cit

it is possible that some people's versions of events were influenced by a need for internal consistency in their views.

Quotes chosen tended to be the clearest examples of the discourses being discussed. As discussed elsewhere the discourses are an arbitrary ordering system and so some examples of speech provided better illustrations than others.

Checking back

As I began to clarify the discourses I re-introduced them into the later interviews to see if they made sense. This gave another view on the ideas from within the social structure that I was trying to understand. I also tested them on other ex-residents of the bay and fellow landscape architects.

3.6.3 Is that it?

These may appear to be but the bare bones of the methodology but Wetherell and Potter highlight problems with discussing methodology in discourse analysis.⁶⁸ The category 'methodology' itself derives from a quantitative research discourse developed for a positivist methodology such as experiments or surveys, with a distinct set of procedures. Although it is tempting to present such a formula for discourse analysis it would provide at best emotional security and at worst a false schema, suggesting a sequential process with an authority inappropriate for the method.

Further, in traditional research, to be seen to perform the methodology correctly is part of the justification of results. In discourse analysis the analytic procedure is largely separate from the warranting of claims.

Wetherell and Potter describe discourse analysis as;

...a craft skill, like riding a bicycle or sexing chickens, not easy to render in an explicit or codified manner.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Wetherell and Potter (1992) p102

⁶⁹ Wetherell and Potter (1992) p105

3.6.4 Reporting Back

Part of the methodological considerations addressed in this chapter involves resolving the ethical dilemmas that research such as this creates. Above I addressed the issue of confidentiality, I now wish to address the ethics of my work.

As an academic researcher I am aware that I am going into a community and seeking their trust and co-operation to further my own ends. Entry to the community in this case was easy due to my family connections with Governors Bay and due to my association with a university as many of the subjects had some tertiary education.

In the course of this work I received a number of queries about reviewing my results. I have therefore resolved to present a brief report to the Community Association and write a report for the community newspaper. In addition I will present a copy of my thesis to the local library.

3.7 *Limitations of the methodology*

The limitations of the methodology are in part the limitations of qualitative research. The first of these is its non-replicability. Unlike quantitative research or the scientific method, research results cannot be replicated. This research is based on gaining an understanding of the meanings and process that appear in the social world and this and the reactions of the researcher are (nearly) infinitely variable. Identical conditions will never re-occur.

This specificity means the results may not be generalisable. However it must also be said that results reveal discourses that may prove to be generic influences. This is what makes this research valuable to landscape management across the country.

More specifically to this case study, the limited range of interviewees may be a limitation. Interviewing continued until I began to get significant repetition, but the shortage of very young people and the preponderance of male interviewees limit the consideration of other knowledges of Governors Bay.

A final limitation of the methodology is the difficulty in catching people in action. Once people are out in the landscape with tools in hand, things happen quickly. With this methodology it is difficult to capture the immediacy of such moments, later reports by interviewees may be adjusted for congruency or memories may be fogged by time.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter describes the methodology I adopted in the gathering of the corpus. It started by placing this work in the qualitative tradition and then went on to cover the specific steps taken in the archival searches and interviewing process. This methodology exhibits the ‘flaws of most qualitative research but it is important to remember that discourse is about the “production of knowledge through language”⁷⁰ rather than the activities of individuals.

In the next chapter I introduce the case study and then, in Chapter Five explore the discourses of landscape. The influence of these discourses on management is discussed in Chapter Six.

⁷⁰ Hall in Quinn (1997) p49

Chapter 4. Constructing Governors Bay Foreshore

4.1 *Introduction*

To reiterate the definition given by Yinn, a case study is:

An empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.⁷¹

This chapter introduces the case study area, the Governors Bay foreshore. After considering theoretical and methodological aspects of this project in the preceding chapters, I now move on to the specifics of Governors Bay.

First I look at the way in which the Governors Bay foreshore has been [re]presented in paintings, photography and writing since European settlement. This introduces some of the landscape discourses that were and are present in the Bay and that will be pursued further in the speech of present day inhabitants in the next chapter.

I then create a narrative of the history of landscape management in Governors Bay, from the arrival of humans in Whakaraupo, through the arrival of Europeans/ Pakeha, and the cultural transformations that accompanied them. I next look at the institutional history of local government up to the present day. This narrative draws together material from all of the sources discussed in the methodology chapter; from archival and governmental sources to interviews with current and ex-residents.⁷² The chronological narrative seeks to introduce some of the social and physical specifics of the Governors Bay foreshore and hence illustrate the specifics of the discourses that follow in the next chapter.

4.2 *Painting Governors Bay*

The Romantic period in English painting in the nineteenth century contributed much to the painting of coastal scenes both there and in New Zealand. Cliffs were made rockier and rougher than they might appear and rather than featuring sheltered coves, painters

⁷¹ Yinn, Robert K. (1989) p13

⁷² The interview material is used here to help build the historical narrative, while in the next chapter the interviews shall themselves become the subjects of analysis, as I draw out the discourses in which they are constituted.

sought sections of wild coast, “the haunts of nature.”⁷³ Staffage, the placement of people into the scene was common, and ships often used to illustrate the ‘forces of nature.’ At this time interest in all aspects of natural history was common.⁷⁴

John Gibb came to New Zealand in 1876 after learning to paint in Britain. The influence of the Romantic School is evident in his 1893 painting of Governors Bay. The rough and rocky foreshore is shown, a little wilder than contemporary photos suggest, and with a more rugged Mansons Point and Mount Bradley looming beyond. Seagulls wheel overhead and a flock of white sheep graze peacefully on top of the headland. Waves break on the shore while a small gaff rigged yacht heels before the easterly breeze. Two women picnic on the foreshore with a white dog. In this idealised image, all is right with the world.

In 1857 it was suggested “artists may take an antipodal trip and return with portfolios crammed with the picturesque.”⁷⁵ The influence of the picturesque, clearly shows in Gibb’s painting. Trees on the right frame the view and the line of the water’s edge provides a curving path into the picture. There are zones of foreground, middle ground and a backdrop. The zones are blended somewhat along the foreshore and the colours are muted.

The strong emphasis on a literal reality shows the certainty of its vision. Settlement was established, the land could now be enjoyed, and knowledge of the natural world was rapidly expanding. This is a painting that shows ‘the way things are’ with a certainty that it is revealing ‘the truth’. Before photography Constable said “painting is a science and should be pursued as an inquiry into the laws of nature.”⁷⁶

⁷³ Howard P (1991) p91

⁷⁴ *ibid* p92

⁷⁵ Hursthouse, Charles, *Zealandia: Britain of the South* vol. 2, 1857 quoted in Shepard (1969) p16

⁷⁶ Constable’s 1830 lecture to the Royal Institution cited in Howard, P *ibid*



Plate 4: *Low Tide Governors Bay* John Gibb (1893)

The next representation is a watercolour by Doris Lusk painted around 1956. Her vantage point is on the rim of the caldera, with a long view down the harbour over Governors Bay. There are no discernible signs of human habitation. Broad washes of colour, tans and browns on the hills suggest the form in a style more subtle, less architectural than her earlier works in oils.

Again a ridge defines the right hand side of the picture, and the length of the harbour sinuously winds through the smooth masses of the hills. No sheep, no people, just the land itself lies still. Its mass and form captured in a few strokes of wash. Subtle gradations of colour hint at the dryness and tussock that once covered these tops. This is a landscape that makes human concerns seem transient and ephemeral.

Lusk painted at a time when the self-conscious search for a New Zealand identity first centred on the landscape, with “natural ruins [being] a substitute for a cultural



Plate 5: Governors Bay, Doris Lusk (c 1955)

history.”⁷⁷ With fellow painters Colin McCahon and Rita Angus she sought a unique face to New Zealand. Like them she pares back the scene to its essence- the geomorphology of the landscape. This, with the elevated viewpoint, simplification of forms and the reach of the harbour connecting foreground and background show commonalities with the work of the other members of the Canterbury Group.⁷⁸

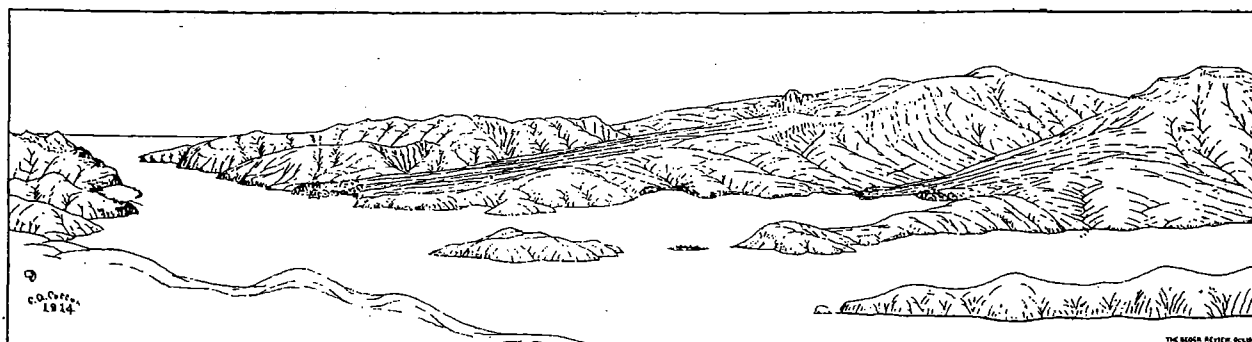


Fig. 365.—Port Lyttelton, New Zealand, a valley system eroded in the heart of a basalt volcanic mountain and then submerged. The even slope down to the water in the centre is the surface of a lava flow of later date than the erosion of the valley system.

Plate 6: Lyttelton Harbour by Professor C. A. Cotton (1914)

Direction to the search for a New Zealand identity had been given by the publication of a geomorphology textbook by Professor CA Cotton. This first introduction to the processes that had shaped the landscape had become a best seller with multiple reprintings after its first release in 1926. The influence of Cotton can be seen when comparing his drawing of Lyttelton Harbour to the painting of Lusk, both having been drawn from similar places on the rim of the caldera.

In 1976 in a watercolour signed D. Hunt, the view is from the waterline beside the jetty. A calm morning, boats float on the water, hard to distinguish from their reflections, the more watery texture of the paint used for the sea contrasting with the opacity of that for the hills. This painting has more detail and a greater range of colour than the Lusk painting, colour that suggests a tropical scene. The water so blue, the hills look greener, it almost

⁷⁷ Shepard (1967) p14

⁷⁸ This point made by Lisa Beaven in *Landmarks* (1996) p24. The Group were, Christchurch based artists closely linked with a literary group centred on the Caxton Press. They were involved in a search for a national voice, and the fusion of “a modernist technique with a new iconography.”

suggests Tahiti. Although the hills are steepened, it is still essentially a humanised landscape. The hills are sheltering rather than rugged. There is practically a domestic sense of comfort in this landscape. Of the three images, this is the one that most clearly suggests human residence.

Each of these images tells us of the cultural character of the time of its creation through its materials, and the style and the choice of subject. These are all Governors Bay, but each is a different place. Each image created in a space defined by different discourses; of painting, of landscape and of identity.



Plate 7: Governors Bay, D. Hunt (c1976)

4.3 *Photographing Governors Bay*

Photography was developed in the nineteenth century and with its appearance of perfect mimesis, was the perfect medium for the certainty of the age. Yet it too was constituted within fields of discourse. The photographer inherited a way of seeing, rather than starting

off afresh. Thus a survey of nineteenth century photographs of Governors Bay⁷⁹ reveals views framed by trees, and serpentine paths leading into the faraway distance; trademarks of the picturesque.

The landscape is often bare and many of the trees are still small. Even in 1890, fence lines are visible high on the hills and there is little evidence of the original vegetation. Evidence of human settlement is easy to see both because many gardens are newly planted and the few houses are clearly visible, but also because it is at the centre of the images. These are representations of a newly settled Governors Bay, presented as scenery rather than simply recorded.

Unlike the paintings, these images are looking primarily to the land. The sea is in the background, for as records of settlement they reveal the focus of the settlers. Theirs was primarily a landward gaze. Shepard wrote of the importance of being freehold yeoman farmers⁸⁰ to the Pakeha settlers in the nineteenth century. Their goals were more than simply economic. They sought an ideal, for a land based Christian democratic society.

These representations of the landscape also serve to naturalise landscape management, then and now. Their idealised views of the landscape, in this instance stressing human endeavour and the controlling and settling of the countryside, contribute to iconic images that make up part of New Zealand's memory. They represent particular ways of relating to the environment and normalise certain landscape management practices.

Although to an earlier audience they may have spoken of hard work, probity and progress, now they may speak of despoliation, lost beauty and in Lady Barker's works, "mud, mutton, and monotony."⁸¹ Through the process of their making these images carry messages about the way the landscape should be and thus reveal the discourses that define the space of landscape management.

⁷⁹ Most from the Alexander Turnbull Library Collection.

⁸⁰ Shepard op cit

⁸¹ Cited in Cooper, R (1993) no page numbers.



Plate 8: Governors Bay c1890, looking north towards Dyers Pass Road.

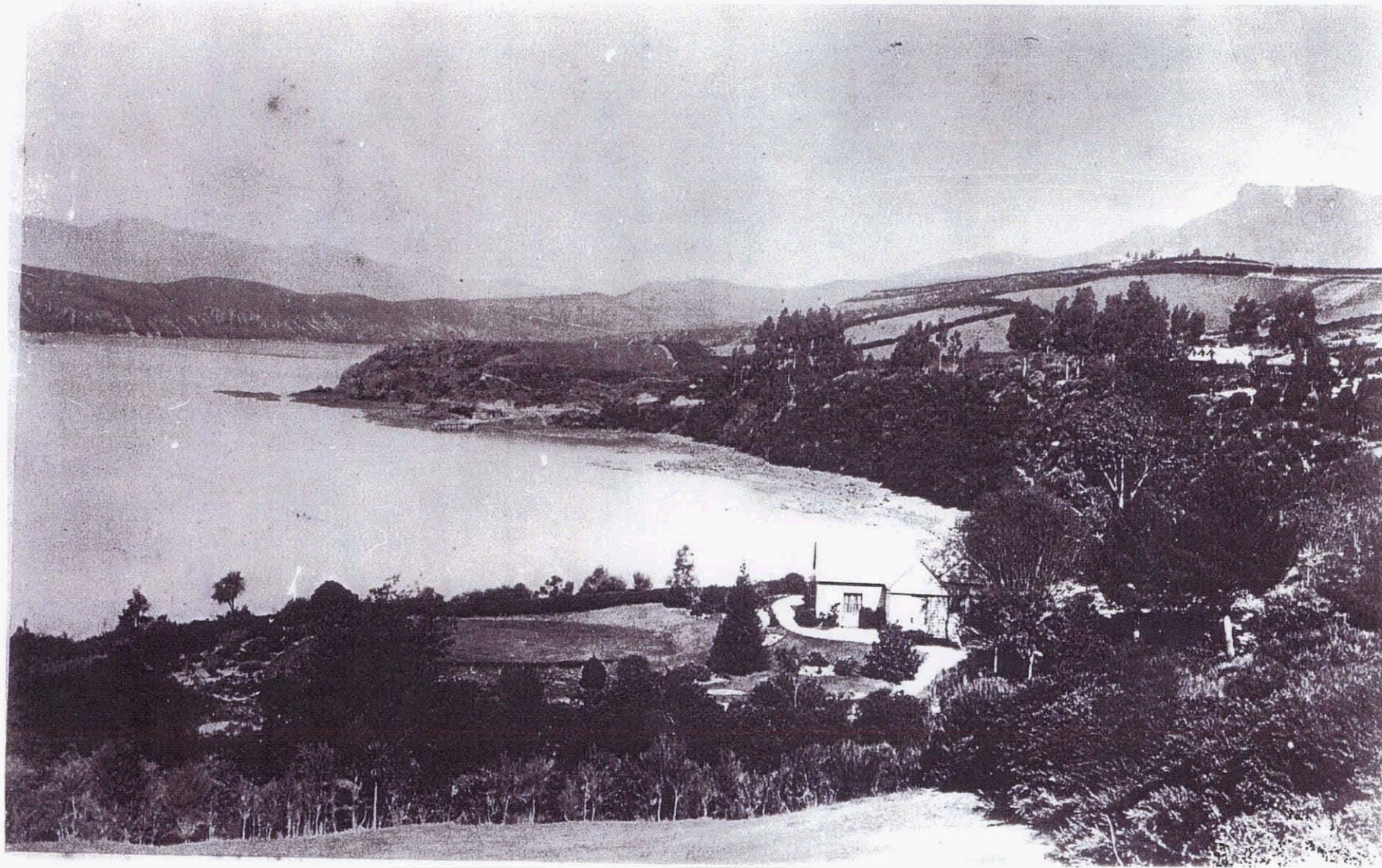


Plate 9: Governors Bay c1890, looking northeast towards Sandy Bay and the Heads.



Plate 10: Governors Bay c1890, looking southeast towards jetty and Allandale, Mansons Point across water.

4.4 Writing Governors Bay - Texts upon Texts

Written accounts of Governors Bay are for the most part non-fiction. In the same way as the paintings and photographs above, they reveal distinct views of Governors Bay.

Blanche Baughan described the view from the Summit Road in 1914.

How lovely and how calm it lies; yet here was once a steaming, seething crater! Governors Bay with its homes and trees and gardens spreads just below us. Two long peninsulas (cooled lava flows) sprawl out like russet lizards upon the blue water...⁸²

A picture of calm and peace, the sea and the land, this is a scenic presentation of the little hamlet at the edge of the water. These are part of the meaning of Governors Bay that keep reoccurring. In 1928, a resident of Governors Bay wrote in the *City* magazine,

The first impression one receives of Governors Bay...is one of peace...away from the busy haunts of the city, free from factory smoke and clanging hammer, and breathing the pure air of the ocean the inhabitants pass their days content and tranquil.⁸³

Here the Arcadian myth is clearly presented. This idea is expanded upon below under the discourse of naturalism but its themes of contentment, in opposition to the clamour of the city are clearly part of this writing. The writer went on to add, "it is especially suitable for convalescents, and those suffering from pulmonary weakness, *neurasthenia* and *anaemia*."⁸⁴ Some fifty years later a reporter for *The Press* reiterated the same ideas about Governors Bay. The terminology used sounds more like England than Lyttelton Harbour. "There are few more peaceful rural villages as close to a main centre of population as Governors Bay is to Christchurch...."⁸⁵ Village is not a word commonly used in New Zealand but it does evoke the image of a (perhaps) English scene, idyllic, quiet and bucolic. Images from Britain have long been grafted onto the New Zealand landscape, providing a comparison against which New Zealand has been found wanting. Over fifty years separates these descriptions yet they suggest the meaning of Governors Bay has in some ways not changed a great deal.

⁸² Baughan (1914) p12

⁸³ Pairman (1928) p12

⁸⁴ Pairman (1928) p12

⁸⁵ The Christchurch Press Oct 26 1976 p21

A more formal example from a Ministry of Works report is of interest due to its attempts to assess a quantitative value for the bay:

“The visual quality of the whole bay is very dependent on the tide. At low tide there is a broad expanse of mudflats...Score 19, Rank = low.”⁸⁶

There is a further discussion of the tide later, but clearly for this scientific observer the conventions of a scenic landscape had been deeply imbued, and non-critically utilised. At the time this report was written (1976) a number of attempts were being made to measure scenic value as an aid to management. This quote reveals a basic flaw in this methodology—the uncritical acceptance of a purely visual experience of the landscape, and a failure to consider the discourses that construct the scenic view.

In a work of historical fiction Elsie Locke has lovingly presented the bay as the refuge of the Small family. Fleeing an abusive spouse, Mrs. Small brought her children to Governors Bay. The book is a fictional account of the arrival of the (real) Small family in the bay in the late nineteenth century. The descriptions are evocative of the landscape, and as a young adult I assumed them to be pure description. Locke describes the bracken-covered hills and the efforts to make a garden on the flat land above the beach. Her descriptions evoke a romantic view of the bush along the foreshore,

In the bush that lined the shore, the bellbirds were singing loudly while two wood pigeons stuffed fat with fuchsia berries, sat lazily on a branch.⁸⁷

As the family struggles to come to know the bay, they overcome various hardships and threats. The threats often stem from the youth and lack of experience of the children and as they mature they settle into a community of plentiful gardens and fish filled sea. Although the hardships of the new settler are described, the strength and capabilities of the mother create a safe atmosphere where problems can always be resolved. Governors Bay becomes a homely productive place.

⁸⁶ Banks Peninsula: Coastal Recreation Planning Study (1978) p1

⁸⁷ Locke (1993) p56 First published in 1965

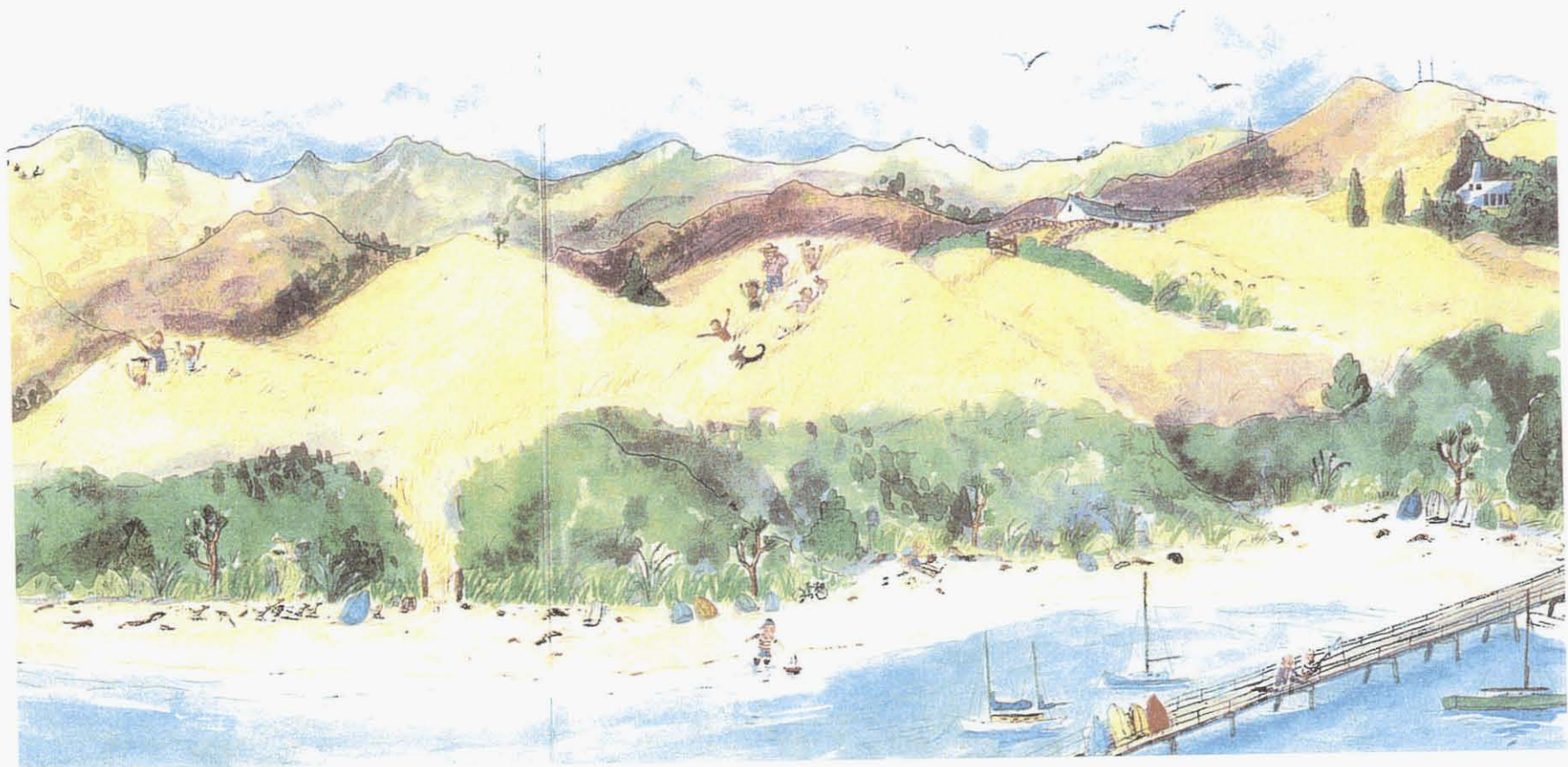


Plate 11: From a Summery Saturday Morning, illustrated by Selina Young

A more recent presentation of the bay is in Margaret Mahy's children's book, *On a Summery Saturday Morning*. Mahy has long been a resident of Governor's Bay and the illustrations in particular are clearly of the Bay, although if we were in any doubt the text soon dispels it.

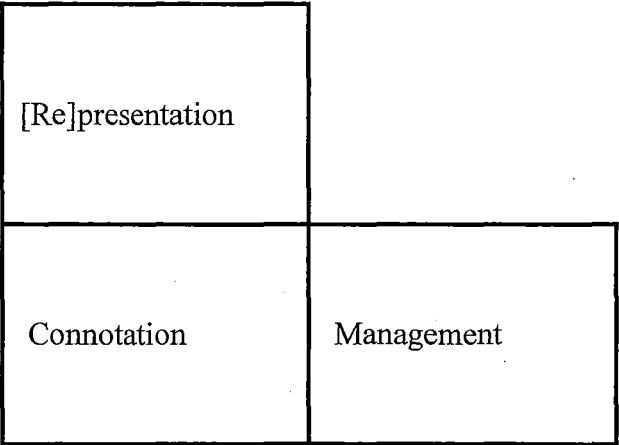
the mud begins its guggliwugs, its guggliwugs.
Our sandals slide like slugliwugs
on a summery Saturday morning.⁸⁸

Mahy has set other stories around a harbour, perhaps most notably *The Tricksters*, where the sea brings in the tricksters of the title among the flotsam, and "the tide marked its furthest reaches with a line of seaweed and shells that went on and on round the world..." But in *Summery Saturday Morning* a book for younger children (and their parents) the foreshore is a less ambiguous place. A place where a parent takes her children for a walk. The illustrations are clearly of Governors Bay with the jetty, boatshed and beach. Mansons Point with its distinctive island on the end is conflated to miss out the tidal reach of Allandale, and the foreshores are all sandy rather than rocky. Here once again the reality is changed to 'improve' it, to match it more with an ideal landscape. The bay is devoid of houses except for a group of terraced houses that with their whitewashed walls and stone fences look quite English.⁸⁹

When describing the methodology for analysing representations of Governors Bay, I discussed the interplay between the denoted landscape, the [re]presentation and the constructed place. In this section I have more explicitly explored the landscape discourses apparent in representations of Governors Bay. These representations have helped construct the meaning of Governors Bay and hence define the landscape management practices utilised there.

⁸⁸ Mahy (1998) No page numbers

⁸⁹ A discussion of housing style in Governors Bay occurs in section 5.2.



This is not a simple cause and effect. The interconnections are multiple and varied. The meanings of Governors Bay for example help determine the choice of a site of representation. The negotiation between these same discourses helps determine the space for landscape management. To help examine that space, I next construct a narrative of the history of landscape management in Governors Bay.

4.5 *Writing the landscape management history[s] of Governors Bay*

When studying a micro-landscape such as this, there are no huge events or moments of global historical import with which to build a grand narrative. Here there are just lived lives, people interacting and creating their community and society. This is a narrative of people, place and meanings, and how the three interact and shape each other.

While it has never been my intention to weave a single cord of historical narrative, when arranging the various themes and sources in chronological sequence, a sense of inevitability and progress does accrue. This history is however but a collection; of facts and conflicts, an amalgamation of nows and thens, places and people, vistas and views. It is but one history of a place; one of a potential host. This does not make this history untrue, but it is a history I have drawn together in order to focus attention on how people have come to live in a certain place and in certain ways. Others may tell this story differently.

4.6 *Tangata Whenua*⁹⁰

4.6.1 Ngati Mamoe

In the mid 14th century Tamatea-Pokai-Whenua (the seeker of lands) came from the North Island by canoe. Published accounts suggest that upon entering Lyttelton Harbour he named it Whakaraupo because of the raupo (bulrushes) growing on the foreshore.⁹¹ An alternative view is that the name Whakaraupo only applied to the head of the harbour where Governors Bay, Teddington and Allandale are now. The following century Ngati Mamoe came south.

4.6.2 Kai Tahu

In the eighteenth century the Kai Tahu followed the Ngati Mamoe south.⁹² Chief of Kai Tahu was Te Rakiwhakaputa who with his two sons, Te Wheke and Tumanuwhiri entered Whakaraupo and attacked the Ngati Mamoe. After killing some Ngati Mamoe and driving them away from their settlements, Te Wheke stayed on at the settlement that Te Rakiwhakaputa had renamed Rapaki (Te-rapaki-o-rangiwhakaputa), and continued to fight the Ngati Mamoe. Manuwhiri was given or built the pa at Ohinetahi, in what is now Governors Bay.⁹³ The stream and bay there had been called Te Awa Whakataka by the Ngati Mamoe.

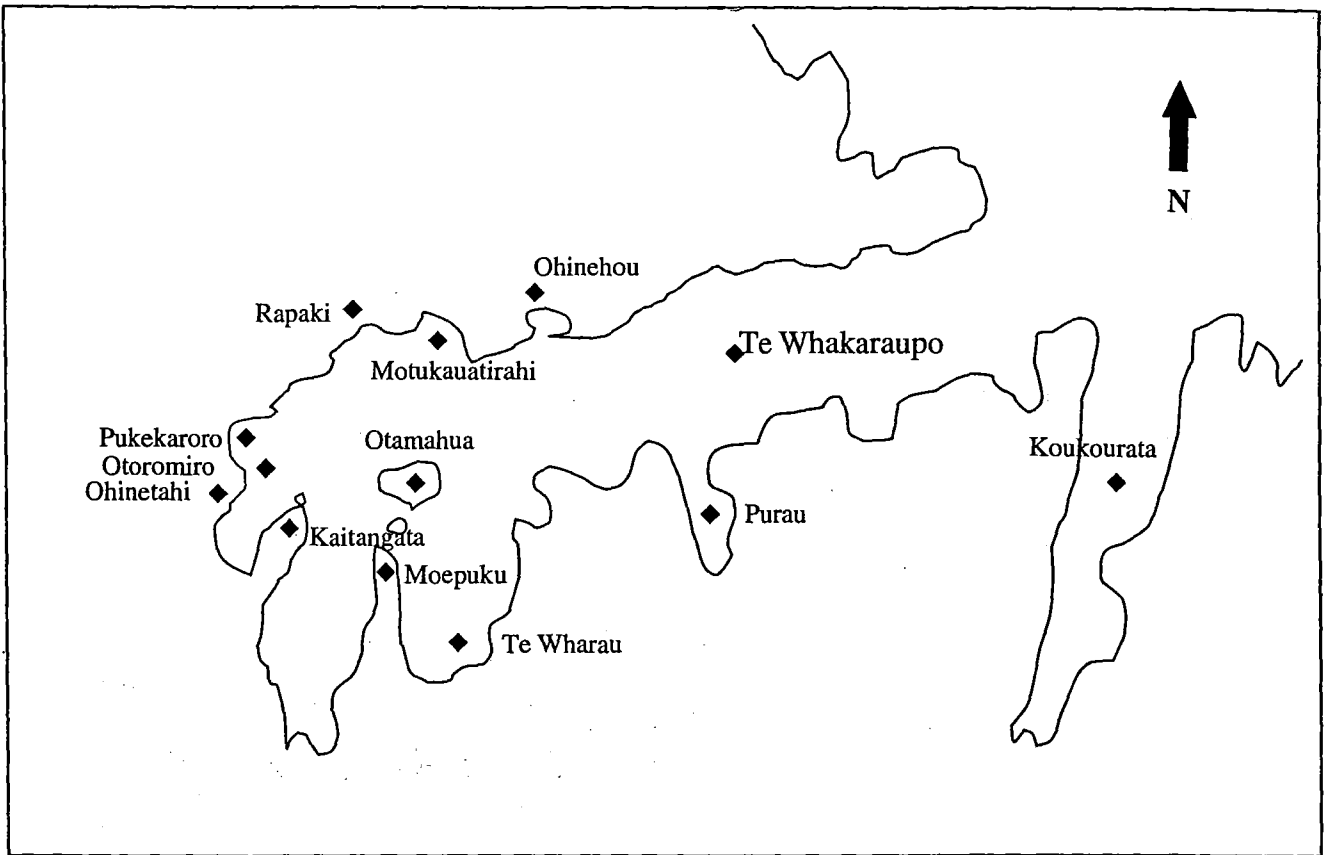
The role of (re)naming is an important part of people's establishment of connection with place. Here the Kai Tahu expressed their claim to the Ngati Mamoe lands by overlaying their history and commemoration over the pre-existing names but without significantly altering the relationship of people to the land. Later Pakeha renaming was to mark the absorption of the land into a vastly different cultural system.

⁹⁰ People of the land; refers to indigenous Maori.

⁹¹ Couch, (1975) p34

⁹² ibid p36

⁹³ Anderson, (1998) p38



Map 5: Some Maori names in Lyttelton Harbour / Whakaraupo

An indication of the significance of naming to Maori is the inclusion of renaming in the Settlement of the Kai Tahu claims against the crown in 1999. One of the new names is for Lyttelton Harbour. It is now Lyttelton Harbour/ Whakaraupo.⁹⁴

4.7 Maori Landscape Management

Maori traditional conceptions of their relationship to the environment (not unlike many other traditional peoples) place people firmly in and of the whole world. Their constructions recognised the “interrelatedness and interdependence of all living things in the natural world.”⁹⁵ Maori also made no distinction between ownership of the land and use of the resources.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Kai Tahu (Ngai Tahu) use ‘k’ for the ‘ng’ used by northern Maori. Thus in some sources Whakaraupo is referred to as Whangaraupo, and Kai Tahu is often Ngai Tahu. See www.ccc.govt.nz/library/bookmark/1995/december/tereo.asp for discussion.

⁹⁵ Te Puni Kokiri, (1993) p9

⁹⁶ Rangitane Consultants, (1995) p8

Implicit with use however is kaitiaki, akin to a principle of stewardship but with deep spiritual significance.⁹⁷ This was aimed at the preservation of mauri (essential life force) as *the spiritual and physical wellbeing of living things is dependent on the protection of mauri*⁹⁸. The use of natural resources carried the risk of a diminution of mauri so use was regulated through the concepts of tapu (sacred) and noa (profane/ordinary). These principles controlled all human/environment relations. Social mechanisms such as rahui, a temporary declaration of tapu, which prohibited access or harvest, were used to limit access and allow regeneration of mauri. This occurred as the health, and hence productivity, of a resource returned.

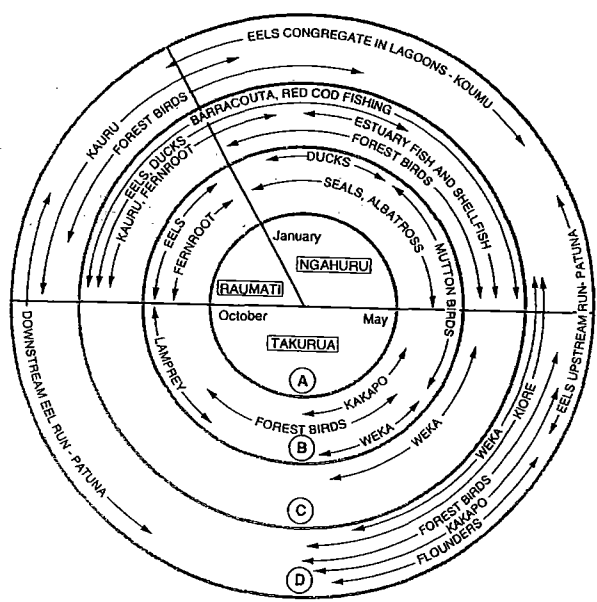


Plate 12: Ngai Tahu seasonal calendars

The year (A) is divided into three seasons: Raumati (the warm period), Ngahuru (the main harvest period), and Takurua (the cold period) of which the late winter and spring was the most difficult time.
Schedule D is for Kaipoi, and will be the same as Whakaraupo. After Anderson (1998)

Northern Maori society was principally agricultural with kumara as the staple crop for cultivation. However its southern limit of cultivation was Taumutu in the middle of the South Island, forcing southern Maori to develop an extensive knowledge of the life cycle of

⁹⁷ Cowan, (1923) p6

⁹⁸ Jull, (1989) p8

other sources of food, and develop a seasonal pattern to their harvests which determined their social organisation as hunter-gatherers.⁹⁹

In Whakaraupo, patiki (flounder), various shellfish, papaka (mudcrabs), and koiro (conger eel) were caught and in the spring and summer, the harvest of pioke or mudshark¹⁰⁰ in the shallow waters of Otoromiro and Puke karoro (Governors Bay and Sandy Bay) took place. The adoption of pioke as kai wairua¹⁰¹ is indicative of the important role kai moana¹⁰² played in the lives of the people of Rapaki.

As this study is principally concerned with the foreshore, it seems appropriate to consider the way in which Maori might have experienced the area. One might assume that their emphasis was more upon the food sources in the bay area: the mudflats, rocky coast and the bird rich bush in the gullies. The steep foreshores were more likely areas to avoid in favour of the easier going higher on the hillside.

Although accounts by Pakeha in the 1840s describe Maori as still practicing traditional food gathering practices,¹⁰³ a report in the 1850s showed a switch to subsistence farming and firewood provision to Pakeha. This follows the sale of “Kemps block” in 1848, which left Kai Tahu dependent on reserves scattered through Canterbury and Otago and marked the beginning of their loss of access to mahinga kai.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Tau (1993) p30

¹⁰⁰ Couch in Montgomery (1990) Appendix 1

Although not defined a literal definition would be ‘spiritual food’, the food that is particular and special to that place and iwi. Ngatea Dictionary of Maori.

¹⁰¹ Couch *ibid*. See reproduced map in Appendix.

¹⁰² food from the sea

¹⁰³ Anderson (1998) p151

¹⁰⁴ Anderson, (1998) p152

The term ‘Mahinga Kai’ refers to traditional food and other natural resources and the places where those resources are obtained.

<http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/mahinga.htm>

4.8 Pakeha landscape management

4.8.1 Surveyors

*A land there lies
Now void; it fits thy people; thither bend
Thy course; thee shalt thou find a lasting seat;
There to thy sons shall many England's rise
And states be born of thee.¹⁰⁵*

The new immigrants to New Zealand expected to be part of a civilising process, a taming of an empty and unfettered country. They expected to create a 'Britain of the South Seas', where English values and norms would hold sway and an English landscape would evolve to shelter them. The word "evolve" is used here deliberately for there was a widely held conviction that the natural superiority of European and especially British species would inevitably lead to their supplanting indigenous ones.

The process of taming had begun prior to the arrival of the 'First Four Ships' which carried the main body of the Canterbury Association settlers in 1850. In 1843 Frederick Tuckett, seeking a site for the Otago settlement had encountered difficulties in the swamps behind Gebbies Pass and deemed Canterbury too problematic for settlement.¹⁰⁶ Then in an attempt to provide a "systematic, organised preparation of the wilderness for occupation by settlers,"¹⁰⁷ surveyors employed by the Canterbury Association had surveyed the Lyttelton Harbour basin in 1848¹⁰⁸ and considered the best site for Christchurch to be at Teddington. This site was later abandoned for the site over the hill on the plains, which was surveyed in 1849.¹⁰⁹

In the harbour basin, land was set aside for a road around the foreshore, and the hillside above laid out in measured rectangles, running from the shore up into the hills. Upon arrival the settlers rode out and chose the blocks they wished to purchase.

¹⁰⁵ Canterbury papers front piece

¹⁰⁶ Easdale, N (1988) p96

¹⁰⁷ Canterbury Papers p243

¹⁰⁸ Lawn, (1987)

¹⁰⁹ Torlesse, (1958) p86

Surveying as it took place in the colonial process has been described as the “active universalisation of a habitable and productive space.”¹¹⁰ This means incorporating ‘places’ into systems of measurement and ordering that make the land available to settlers. The process of taming or occupying that surveying comprised, was as significant, if not more than, the later work of the settlers.

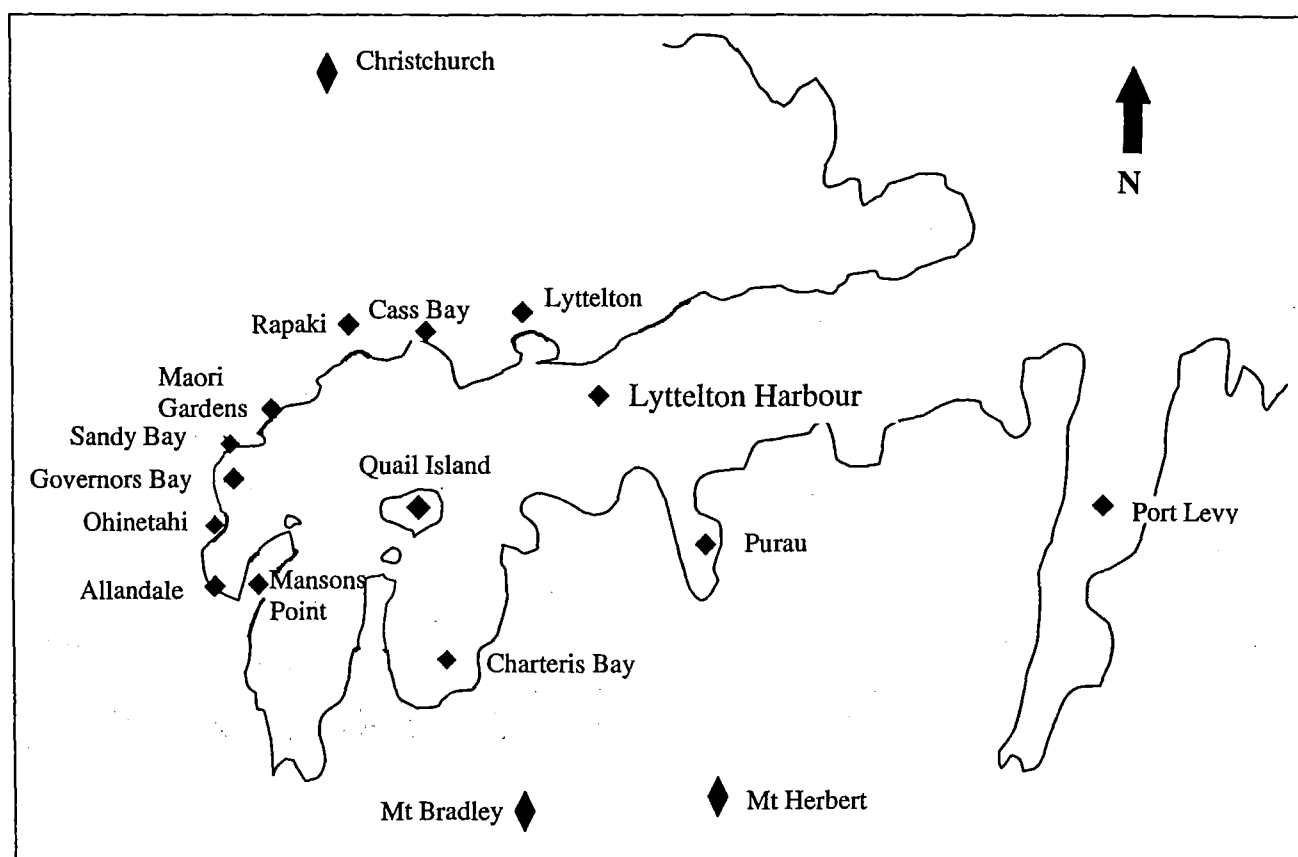
Surveying was the first step in the establishment of the European management regime upon the landscape of Aotearoa. It made possible the objectification of place essential to both the instrumentalist approaches of scientific management and the commodification of the real estate market.

In other words the surveyors were incorporating Aotearoa into the networks of the British Empire; not just networks of commodities but also networks of meaning. As a layer of British names was laid over the Maori names, they performed an act that was “an assertion of literal acquisition; fixed on maps and in narratives, names incorporated the land into a discourse which had its origins beyond New Zealand’s shores”.¹¹¹

Although, not unlike the Maori process of naming, in that the new names were commemorative of people and descriptive of place, now the sources of the memories were on the opposite side of the planet. Thus through measurement and renaming the landscape of Governors Bay was incorporated into new networks, both of economy and meaning. This not only rendered the landscape meaningful and accessible to the new settlers, it helped define their experience of it.

¹¹⁰ Pratt in Byrnes, (1995) p1

¹¹¹ Byrnes, (1998) p22



Map 6: Some Pakeha names including adopted Maori names on Lyttelton Harbour / Whakaraupo

4.8.2 Early Farmers

Initially the Pakeha settlers' primary concerns were with building homes and establishing farms. Most would appear to have had a landward view, more concerned with agriculture and indeed survival than the coast at their backs. However in Governors Bay the sea did provide a route for communications with other settlers prior to the construction of roads, and with Lyttelton which was initially the main market for produce. The first jetty at Governors Bay was built in 1873, and was the main focus of transport until the track from Lyttelton was widened sufficiently to allow cart access. The first uses of the harbour for recreational activities were probably sailing races, though by the late 1890s picnic parties began to use the foreshore.

Although it may be thought that little heed was paid to the indigenous landscape in the drive to establish the landscape as a productive and comforting form, countervailing ideas

were apparent as early as the 1860s. One early resident of Governors Bay, T H Potts who purchased the property at Ohinetahi, was an avid botanist and plant collector. In 1868 he was predicting the extinction of native flora and fauna and calling for their preservation.¹¹² Within the next decade he was calling for the creation of scenic and other reserves. At the same time he was propagating exotic plants, including *Pinus radiata*¹¹³ concurrently acting as conservator and agent of change.

Little evidence exists of other voices from Governors Bay advocating retention of indigenous flora. Potts may have been a lone voice, though the motives of an 1857 complainant objecting to firewood being gathered from the bush in the foreshore reserve are unclear.¹¹⁴ Generally it can be assumed that the business of converting the blocks of land into productive farms was the primary focus, and concern for preservation was something of a luxury.

Further, there was a real belief that native flora and fauna would be displaced by ‘superior’ European species, a type of racism based on a blend of Imperialism and evolution theory. In 1873 as the debate on conservation of indigenous forests began, it was noted:

the same mysterious law that appears to operate when the white and brown races come into contact- and by which the brown race, sooner or later, passes from the face of the earth- applies to native timber....the moment civilisation and the native forest come into contact, that moment the forest begins to go to the wall.¹¹⁵

As the Pakeha took over the land, before them fell the inferior indigenous societies, whilst ‘nature’ was tamed by ‘Science’ and the superior species of the northern, civilised homeland.

4.8.3 Early Institutional history

At the beginning of the twentieth century two local bodies controlled the entirety of Banks Peninsula; the Akaroa County Council and the Wairewa County Council. Akaroa had jurisdiction for those areas of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin that were not included in Lyttelton Borough. Due to the concerns of harbour ratepayers that their rates were being

¹¹² T H Potts (1976) and Canterbury Museum cardfile.

¹¹³ Starr (1997) p36

¹¹⁴ Letter from Governors Bay Resident, to Canterbury Association, 23 September 1857 in Canterbury Association Papers, National Archives.

¹¹⁵ Travers, W.T.L. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*. Vol 2 1869, cited in Wynn, G (1977) p128

spent on roading elsewhere, and the perceived indifference of the distant Akaroa Council to their concerns, in 1902 the Mount Herbert Country Council (MHCC) was formed. It consisted of the Port Levy and Port Victoria Road Boards, the latter which had covered most of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin since 1864.¹¹⁶ The new council was based in Church Bay, in the Lyttelton Harbour basin. The MHCC was a small council and for most of its period of existence it was notable for the low level of its rates, its preoccupation with roading and its dominance by farmers. In fact for many years a voting system was in place that favoured landowners. Few bylaws were passed, though by 1912 council permission was needed to fell trees by the road or remove shells from the beach.¹¹⁷

In 1909 Governors Bay received 1000-1500 people by launch on holiday weekends¹¹⁸ and problems with litter and fires were of local concern. The majority of these people were picnickers who camped at various spots along the foreshore. This explosion of usage of the foreshore can be seen to result from the improved access to the harbour for urban dwellers from Christchurch and their appreciation of the rural and maritime characters of the bay. This marks a shift in attitude from the landward/resource-focussed gaze of the early Pakeha settlers to the scenic gaze of the tourist. This dichotomy characterises one of the splits in landscape management priorities of the MHCC; the split between the council, controlled by the landowners/farmers with their emphasis on resource development, and the wishes of residents concerned more with recreation and scenic values.

MHCC had total control of the foreshore up to 1913 when the Lyttelton Harbour Board had an act passed by Parliament extending their control up to the high water mark. MHCC unsuccessfully opposed this, probably due to fear of being charged for jetty maintenance and sewerage release into the harbour.¹¹⁹

As the roading network improved and cars became more common, more and more baches (rudimentary holiday cottages) were built along the foreshore throughout the county. These baches were disliked by council as it was considered they were poorly constructed,

¹¹⁶ Trainor (1984) p4

¹¹⁷ *ibid* p9

¹¹⁸ *ibid* p14

¹¹⁹ *ibid* p16

and that they disfigured the area,¹²⁰ and of course they attracted city people onto the roads. This was a perennial concern of the County; the use of Council maintained services by city dwellers from 'over the hill'.

In 1932 the council forbade construction of foreshore baches and demanded removal of existing ones. This was about the time that work commenced on the baches at Maori Gardens, (adjacent to Governors Bay);

in the early thirties...a little truck loaded to the hilt with timber and all sorts came and it all went over and down and that was the start of the baches there...things just used to happen in those days, there was no damage being done and you weren't infringing anyone's rights...not a lot of people used to go round there, just the ones with the baches¹²¹_{Ken}

The attractions of this sandy little cove may have been enhanced by its isolation. To this day many people are unaware of the existence of this six bach enclave, though their isolation is now more imagined than real.

the feeling that you are ringed and surrounded and there's a single vision out and you are right down at the water's edge and there's just these old decrepit houses behind you and you could be anywhere... Joe



Plate 13: Swimmers at Maori Gardens 1932, Authors father left rear.

¹²⁰ ibid p35

¹²¹ The '...' represents pauses in speech.

The two themes of Council concern with their relationship with the city 'over the hill' and people acting independent of regulation in relation to the landscape are ones that continue to recur.

4.8.4 Banks Peninsula District Council

In 1989 the Labour government of the day passed the Local Government Amendment Act which formed 94 councils and community boards out of almost 800 local government and ad hoc bodies nationwide.¹²² The Local Government Commission found the harbour basin quite problematic; initially placing the more urban Lyttelton Borough with the City of Christchurch on the other side of the hill. This would have continued the separation of the heavily populated parts of the harbour from the more rural and sparsely settled areas and maintained the differences in resources these different tax bases provided. Finally Lyttelton Borough Council and Mount Herbert County Council were combined and reintegrated into one local governmental body that covered the whole Peninsula; the Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC).

As part of the reforms, community boards were established as a bridging layer of democracy between council and public. They were to provide the first point of access for people with problems or issues they wished to bring to the council's attention. By the same token they would be vested with some degree of power or responsibility. The membership of the boards represents this dual allegiance; they are made up of both councillors and elected members.

The Mount Herbert Community Board (MHCB) takes in the area previously covered by the Mount Herbert County Council. It consists of a chairperson and six members, two of whom are councillors. The MHCB is the first point of contact for residents with an issue they wish to have addressed by the council. Minor issues may then be dealt with by board members approaching council staff, or else they will be passed on to the relevant council committee or a report prepared for consideration by the whole council.

Well the role of community board is really liaison, we go between the ratepayer the resident and council and staff, you can't have everyone knocking on the council door...but I try and shield them, we try and get people going.. myself as a community board member...it'll be done...sometimes just a small thing but if it's a major event I write a report to the community

¹²² Bassett, (1996) p35

board, it goes on the agenda, we discuss it, there's two councillors that sit on the community board, so they're *au fait* with what is going on and then it goes to the relevant committee...Kim

In 1998-1999 another step in the devolution of authority was taken when the council moved responsibility for reserves down to the community board. This allowed priorities to be set by the residents that use the individual reserves. The Community Board is now responsible for the day to day operation of the reserves, in conjunction with the reserves committee of the council. A community board member describes how it is supposed to work;

the council has a policy of devolving management and responsibility to the community...they want management committees set up and we will apply through the annual plan and budget process for the funding we need to do the reserves, they do not want the maintenance aspects, they do not want to be involved in the issues, so that's a prescribed policy they want to bring in.....Kim

This seemed to suit the Governors Bay community with their interest, in the large part, for passive recreation areas. Some respondents at least, view the council as being out of touch with the needs and wants of the community.

I don't think it devolved, I don't think they ever had much responsibility for reserves, really and truly so...20 years ago reserves kind of meant somewhere for the kids to play football And they certainly had quite a bit of money put into the Allandale reserve...the idea of passive recreation reserves and walking tracks really wasn't in their spectrum of thought, it just wasn't...I think it's only been with the creation of emphasis on being fit and..there's an ethic that's kind of spread over the hill a little bit...Sue

A recurring issue in the interviews was how the reserve levies were used. Sue's comments are typical of resident's views regarding the council's response to foreshore management issues and the reserves fund,

if it is a high priority, then council will have to take notice and there are funding implications...it all comes back to dollars really.....I am told that our reserves money has been shrunk.....because they have spent it,...the reserves money has been a slush fund for...borderline reserve things.Sue

The reserves fund is levies gathered on subdividers ostensibly for the creation and maintenance of open spaces for residents. As property values are high and there have been a number of subdivisions in Governors Bay, this is considered by the interviewees to be money that should be spent in Governors Bay. Money that has been spent on reserves has been 'fought hard for',¹²³ for specific projects. No accounting has been made for the

¹²³ Personal comment, Sue.

reserves levies *per se* and no suggestion has been made that control of the levy should go with devolution.

What is also notable about this devolution is the lack of direction given to the community boards. Although in theory the actions of the board are to be guided by council policy, the absence of such policy leaves the board in a quandary. They can request direction from council on issues that are clearly of a contentious or significant nature or, as observation reveals, decisions may rather tend to be made on the basis of the attitudes of board members present at a meeting. The lack of council policy, concerns not just reserves management but also relatively significant issues such as principles of public access to foreshores and reserves. Here a community board member describes the need for guidance;

It's just we need to have much better policy guidelines, and staff can look at it and [the] community board and anyone else can say that this is what we have decided for this area and we just have to work within these parameters...I think no one denies the intrinsic value of the foreshore.^{Sue}

The lack of policy also leaves the community board open to charges of being inconsistent.

there are other road reserves that have been developed and a precedent has been set for what we allow, we being council community board for what we condone, in areas and anyone who wanted to could refer us back to what we have condoned at the bottom of Dyers Pass Rd and say this is road reserve and so is Governors Bay fore shore...^{Sue}

Some attempts had been made in the past by both Lyttelton Borough and Mt Herbert Councils to meet their requirements under the Reserves Act,¹²⁴ in particular to put in place management plans for all parks and reserves under the councils control. These have in the most part come to nought, lost in the process of amalgamation. Consequently only institutional history, through the continued involvement of the same people in the community, regardless of the political structure, provided any sense of continuity or constancy in the management process.

In 1999 a vote was held in Christchurch City and Banks Peninsula District on the question of unifying the two districts. Driven by the issues of the low rating base of the BPDC and its large infrastructure maintenance costs, in particular roading, and the increasing use of the Peninsula by residents of the city, the proposal was for the Peninsula to become two more wards of the greater City Council.

¹²⁴ Personal observation

The vote failed to achieve a majority in both districts, foundering on the peninsula on the perceived loss of democratic representation that would occur; just two councillors on the expanded City Council would represent the peninsula. This plebiscite was the final step in the 1989 reforms.

4.8.5 Governors Bay Community Association

Following subdivision in 1913, non-farming residents of the bay began to arrive; and the first spokesperson for the association was a doctor. The first mention of the Governors Bay Community Association appears to be in council minutes in March 1919 urging the speed up of electrification.

As more ratepayers became established in Governors Bay they became a united voice distinct from the farming community. When the end of weighted voting for landowners decreased the influence of farmers, the importance of the Governors Bay rates to the cash poor MHCC meant the residents association had to be placated so as to prevent them seceding or joining another council.¹²⁵

The association has continued to meet, publish its newsletter the *Bay News*, and advocate for the improvement of facilities in the bay until the present day. This has not always meant an easy relationship with the council as a resident describes;

I don't think Governors Bay is perceived terribly well by the council, we have quite a professional group of people in Governors Bay, people who will argue well and will take [unclear] and they argue hard and logically for what they want, and are not easily fobbed off, and that's right across the spectrum of; why we haven't got stormwater channels, why the streams are eroding away, why they haven't made road provision when they have allowed subdivision higher up.^{Sue}

During that time the Association has been active with a number of issues along the foreshore. Some of these have been recurrent issues. Among these are the maintenance and preservation of the Scout Den located on the road reserve that runs along the foreshore. As the Sea Scouts Troop waxed and waned, so too did maintenance of the boat and building. Searches for leaders and pleas for help appear over the years in the *Bay News*. At one time an attempt to demolish the (at the time) dilapidated building prompted a wave of letter writing and a working bee.

¹²⁵ Trainor, (1984) p35

that was one of our emotional crises in the community association, it was falling into disrepair, and...the chair at the time ...he walked along there and [he] was a very clean and tidy man, he liked his edges clipped and his roses trimmed and that sort of thing (sotto voice) he had a butterfly on his house, and he was along there and he thought it was disgusting, an untidy thing and we should have a working bee to pull it down and get rid of it...and there were a few of us on the community assoc who knew something, a bit about its history and we said, I don't think so, it'll cause a hoo haa, you must talk about it, so he went and spoke to council and they said well if you want to pull it down then pull it down...well anyway we had started up *Bay News* then, and John Sherrif wrote a good wee article about it and of course the wrath of the heavens descended upon [the chairperson's] head (laughs) and a couple of people who came and abused us soundly for even thinking about it...and I had spoken to...[someone] about it too, to do a bit of behind the covers about it and she had roused them all up and she brought them along and they said they would restore it and it got its paint job and [they] put some windows in it ...and within another year or so we had enough kids again to start scouts again.^{Sue}

This is a typical example of both conflicting discourses and 'how things get done' in Governors Bay. In the next chapter I introduce the discourses that help constitute the space for landscape management in the bay. Here two discourses came into conflict, that of tidiness and that of the cultural identity of Governors Bay where the Scout Den has significance as a repository of memories and meanings.

In the last twenty to thirty years as passive recreational activities increased in popularity, interest in establishing a walkway along the foreshore grew. The Association has been instrumental in gaining resources for this project and in the on going administration and maintenance of the walkways. Concurrent with that have been attempts to plant the areas adjacent to the tracks. This was early restoration ecology, as an attempt was made to secure eco-sourced plants. Later as the people involved changed, a shift occurred in the style of planting, here described by a Community Association member active on the foreshore;

so despite the fact that a management plan was drawn up...for our guidance, it was never ratified by the Community Association, it was always just there, and there was the knowledge that we'd always plant natives down there when we planted any spare areas or any areas we had cleared um and that just sort of sat there...as background knowledge...but people have taken their spare plants from their gardens down there...we have actually cleared out a lot but there are still agapanthus down there and daisies and a few other bits and pieces and we have things like the cherry plums growing down there...^{Ken}

A resident with experience in recreation management drew up the management plan but the council never formally ratified it. As the area is a road reserve there was no legislative

imperative to develop such a plan¹²⁶ and so it was merely used informally by the association. Copies are held by some people involved with the foreshore and it is referred to in an ad hoc manner.

The desire to restore native plantings is not held by all, but those that do hold them are influential enough to precipitate action. This has culminated in the Association sponsoring a restoration ecology-planting guide for the harbour basin. Without exploring the implications of such a project, it demonstrates the strength of feeling that exists around these issues.

The Community Association has for more than twenty years been involved in projects around the bay and along the foreshore, until now that has been for the most part on an *ad hoc* basis.

the community association has always been just the volunteer workforce, often we would never tell the council what we were going to do...we would just decide this area needed cleaning up or this area needed something doing to it, and the council used to hear of it but they didn't really care what we did...they said fine as long as there is no cost to us (laughs)_{Sue}

With the formal devolvement to the Community Board the Association has a more direct input on process. As some of the same people are involved with both organisations the links are multiple. Ostensibly a representative organisation, the number of people actively involved can be quite small.

"[it is] a voluntary organisation...there is an election but um it's kind of like with treasurer and chairperson it was more or less the committee, and they say...you put your hand up and they say, oh you'll do it again, you'll do it again will you"_{Ken}

Other groups are active in the bay and some have different agendas. The garden club, have expressed interest in working in the foreshore area;

the gardening club has always been quite strong, they thought at one stage they would beautify along there, if we wanted [them] to, and fortunately they decided it was too big a project or goodness knows what we would have had along there,_{Sal}

These feelings were expressed by a pro-restoration resident who viewed with disfavour the use of variegated cultivars of native plants used by the gardening club in other sites in the bay.

¹²⁶ Under the Reserves Act 1977, all reserves other than road reserves, i.e. scenic, recreation, historical, scientific are required to have a management plan in place.

This semi-formal voluntary work was paralleled by (on a number of occasions) people getting together informally and cleaning up sections of the foreshore, even going out into the mud to remove old tyres and appliances. These are some of the same people that turn up for Association activities, so their voluntary work clearly takes a number of forms.

4.8.6 The New Management Regime

In 1999 a resident who is a landscape architect approached the Association and suggested the need for a management plan for the foreshore. There had been conflict in the community over the nature of management in the foreshore, and with a possible amalgamation of the Banks Peninsula District Council with Christchurch City looming, the possibility of loss of local control was raised. The Community Association therefore called for interested people and a committee was formed to look at creating a management plan. The committee quickly realised the size of the job and resolved to start a process that could be seen to be consultative. To this end they prepared and distributed a survey of the residents of the bay to ascertain the values that people place upon the foreshore.

A report, detailing the results of the survey and suggesting the commissioning of a landscape architect was presented to the Community Association. The role of the landscape architect will be to prepare a landscape management plan and design guidelines for the fore shore areas. The council has been approached for funding and bids for the work have been sought.

Already some of the conflicting discourses of management and nature discussed in Chapter Five have become apparent.

People say, No, we want it to stay natural, we want it to stay the way it is but we don't want any heavy management. By not having any management, in fact what's happening is precisely going away from what they want because *ad hoc*, individual decisions by people will take it down a default mode which will become urbanised. It has to be done. It doesn't just happen. I mean, you have to choose. Somebody has to make a choice of which species. They have to control the weeds. You know, there's a whole lot of things they have to do... I think the problem is that the general perception is that natural means little management.^{Sal}



Plate 14: View North from Mansons Point across Allandale to 'Old Road' round foreshore.

The report adopts a non-critical response to the findings of the survey, presenting without question the discourses of naturalism and nativeness expressed by the recipients. In the pursuit of an acceptable solution it defines 'management' pragmatically, and leans toward a managed naturalism for the foreshore.

The report does however suggest an example of alternative approaches to pathway construction and thus it attempts to lay the groundwork for a minor break with the commonly accepted 'aesthetic of naturalism' for the design guidelines. Now it will be up to the landscape architect to challenge the discourses and meanings of Governors Bay if they wish to develop a different set of aesthetic conventions for this area. It does seem unlikely that the resulting guidelines from the landscape architect will break from the tradition of 'naturalism' that this report implicitly adopts.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored [re]presentations of Governors Bay that have helped construct the meaning of the place. Those studied were in painting, photography and written texts. The next representation was that of landscape management in Governors Bay. After an overview of Maori practices I then examined Pakeha roles in changing the

landscape. This was followed by an account of the development of the institutional context of landscape management and the role of the Community Association. The intersection of regulation and individual action was touched upon in the devolution of management down to the community, and the current steps to employ professional advice in the preparation of policy guidelines for future management.

It can be seen that the abdication of control to government that once moved contentious issues away from communities has been reversed. Devolution has increased the number of issues that need to be resolved within the community. Thus the new management regime has several functions. As well as the traditional importing of expertise, there is an attempt to remove the potential for conflict by setting up guidelines for management. The role of government is now to be performed by the work of hired consultants.



Plate 15: Southeast from Scout Den across Governors Bay to jetty and boatshed. Note incidence of exotic vegetation. Jetty is the site of the jetty in Gibb's painting, (plate 4)

Chapter 5. [Re] Presenting Governors Bay.

5.1 *Introduction*

In the previous chapter, I introduced Governors Bay and its history of landscape management. In this chapter I explore the discourses of landscape that exist in and around Governors Bay, as expressed in [re]presentations of the landscape and the speech of the residents.

When asked, the residents of Governors Bay generally voiced their attraction to the place in terms of the environment, the bush remnants, the open space and the sea. These things have meaning for them, they are aware that these things are important in Governors Bay. Yet landscape often becomes, just as Jorge Luis Borges¹²⁷ noted of the absence of camels in the Koran, an everyday presence that needs no mention.

In my interviews I sought to discuss the camels, to explore what made up the minutiae of people's relationship with their landscapes. No one was surprised at my questions about their everyday movements, and the way they viewed the landscape around them, these are unquestioningly accepted as important parts of what makes Governors Bay the place they think it is. There is still however a great range in the degree to which the interviewees had considered the Governors Bay landscape. Although generally placing much value on or in the landscape, it is apparent that in some cases a closer knowledge of the place tended to correspond with a higher knowledge of ecological process,¹²⁸ though not necessarily with a greater knowledge of the cultural landscape.

This chapter explores the discourses of landscape as they became apparent in and about Governors Bay. It begins by considering some of the history of these discourses and their negotiation and competition. It then examines the way they are manifest in [re]presentations of Governors Bay and in the speech of the interviewees. It considers how

¹²⁷ Cited in Goldman and Schurman 2000

¹²⁸ I use ecology here while recognising that it is itself a fluid discourse. Early definitions of ecology as the study of equilibrium, harmony and order in nature have given way to descriptions of the environment as fundamentally erratic, discontinuous and unpredictable. The notion of ecological climax has long been challenged, but increasingly ecologists are finding that vegetation is almost constantly in a state of recovering from the latest environmental disturbances. Burrows cited in Wilson (1998) p101

discourses construct the meanings of Governors Bay and their implications for landscape management.

5.2 *Naturalness*

Consideration of discourses of naturalness has currently reached the Environment Court in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The RMA's requirement to preserve natural character without defining it has resulted in a series of decisions attempting to define the natural. The court has decided that 'natural' indicates a "**product of nature** and can include such things as pasture, exotic tree species(pine) wildlife both wild and domestic...opposed to **man made structures**, roads, machinery etc."¹²⁹ The court recognises two categories of natural areas, pristine, which are "undisturbed" and very rare and secondly all other features produced by nature, whatever they might be. "Man-made"(sic) structures by their very presence reduce natural value.¹³⁰

These decisions reflect clearly the definition of naturalness in binary opposition to the (hu)man made or cultural. Yet the use of natural in this sense, is relatively recent. Foucault dates it to 1657 in Johnson's "A Natural History of Quadrupeds".¹³¹ Prior to this point there was no distinction between the knowledge gained from (scientific) observation and that obtained from other, for example mystical or legendary, sources.

In the seventeenth century a shift from viewing nature as a "positive and redemptive power"¹³² came at the point where the scale of human interference in and exploitation of the environment began to be experienced as a "source of danger and alienation."¹³³ This was marked in European arts and literature by the growth of the Romantic Movement.

¹²⁹ Harrison vs. Tasman District Council 1993

¹³⁰ Natural Character Concept Development in New Zealand Planning Law and Policy, an Environment Waikato Paper, Section 3.3.2.1

¹³¹ Cited in Seddon 1997

¹³² Soper p54

¹³³ Soper p54

‘Nature’ still tends to be used to suggest a domain of “intrinsic value, truth or authenticity,”¹³⁴ but this counter-position to culture presupposes terms that define exclusive and different territories. The difficulty of this is apparent when such ‘natural’ wildernesses as the Amazon jungle or the outback of Australia come to be seen as cultural landscapes.¹³⁵ Indeed as Soper puts it, “much of what [is] loosely refer to as ‘natural’ is a product of culture both in a physical sense and in the sense that perceptions of its beauties and values are culturally shaped.”¹³⁶

This ‘nature’ is further seen to have been “progressively depreciated as a consequence of the intrusive and corrupting activities of the human species.”¹³⁷ A nostalgic sense of loss, fostered by this view is seen in the comments of some interviewees.

Another recurrent aspect of the discourses of naturalness is the picturesque. The transposition of the ideals of the picturesque into the New Zealand landscape is mentioned in Chapter Two, and addressed at length by Bowring. To reiterate, the principles are derived from the idealised landscapes of Italian landscape painting in the seventeenth century and have become a distinct set of aesthetic conventions. They have also evolved into a primarily visual way of relating to the landscape; landscape as scenery. The idealisation has become a concern for tidiness and control that is valued over, or is sometimes mistaken for ecological health.

In Governors Bay the picturesque surfaced often because it is a [re]presentation of nature that is often confused with the original. “I like the Coast and Lewis Pass...that’s why down here I’ve made a walk and bridge...”¹³⁸ Tim Here Tim describes two different ecological regions that are the sources of inspiration for his garden. Yet the details he cites, both in the excerpt and in more detail in the interview, are characteristics of a picturesque landscape. The meandering walk, the stream and bridge, are as (if not more) at home in an English garden as the New Zealand bush. This concentration on the visual experience of

¹³⁴ Soper, K p53

¹³⁵ I refer here to the recognition of the role of a thousand years of human activity in creating the current landscape, through plant propagation in the Amazon and use of fire in Australia.

¹³⁶ Soper p54

¹³⁷ Soper p53

¹³⁸ Fictitious names are used for interviewees

the landscape and the (perhaps subconscious) comparison of the 'real world' to an idealised landscape reoccur time and time again in the speech of residents of Governors Bay.

5.2.1 In Governors Bay

Interviewees were keen to talk about the bay and enthused about the place, "it's like being on holiday all the time. Even when its raining there's bellbirds everywhere, and fantails flying around." ^{Tim} To Tim, 'nature' is not something that one generally encounters in every day life. It is the antithesis of every day urban life. Governors Bay is the contrast, it provides "the peace and tranquillity." ^{Jed}

This idea of a rural or bucolic ideal surfaced repeatedly, "it's a rural outlook," ^{Nan} "semi ruralness...bigger sections," ^{Pat} "the smaller community and the quietness." ^{Jed} This was contrasted with the city, "we don't want to live on top of a busy port...Lyttelton was too busy and too much like Coronation Street," ^{Nan} "didn't like the suburbia thing [Christchurch]." ^{Tim}

To the residents, Governors Bay means a rural therefore quiet and tranquil place, the opposite of the busy and frantic city. This Arcadian ideal reaches back to classical western society. It is also a primarily urban idea. Virgil was in Rome when he wrote in praise of country life, and the city had an estimated population of one million.¹³⁹ While later images of Marie Antoinette dressed as a shepherdess may still seem far from Governors Bay, in terms of ideals, they may be only a lamb's frolic away. Closer to Governors Bay, Katherine Mansfield's 'At the Bay' is set in an iconic harbour side settlement on Wellington Harbour, (also with a large Eucalyptus tree). The atmosphere of summer-at-the-beach, captured in the story, resonates with many New Zealanders. Yet despite its strong New Zealand setting, it is framed by the movement of sheep by a weather-beaten old shepherd wearing "a frieze coat...[and] velvet trousers tied under the knee...he was a grave, fine looking old man."¹⁴⁰ Arcadia is a rustic ideal where people lived content in their unselfconscious rural simplicity, untroubled by the travails of city or modern life.

While the differences between Governors Bay and Christchurch take another form in the comments about Christchurch people discussed below under community, the notion of

¹³⁹ Seddon 1970 p44

Arcadia or ruralness does warrant further consideration; in particular its effects on management. Efforts to protect rural landscape values may often appear to be attempts to maintain the status quo. For example, recent work in New Zealand by landscape architects suggests that rural areas have a clearer “expression of the natural pattern of the landform,”¹⁴¹ and a more open settlement pattern. While recognising the rural landscape is a heavily modified landscape, this work fails to acknowledge the role of for example, agricultural practices and the historical vagaries of the land tenure system in determining these spatial patterns. The rural landscape is a dynamic landscape, and failing to recognise all of these matters, restricts the range of management options available.

In Governors Bay the association of ruralness with large section size and a lesser impact of buildings, also has clear implications for management. “Low density houses here [are] in good proportion with the landscape behind...it would look inappropriate to have this grand landscape and just a whole clutter of little houses...”^{Pat} And yet there are comparable landscapes, “like the British Lakes District,”^{Joe} where the vernacular and admired manner of settlement is small clusters at the edges of the water. Wordsworth wrote of the Lake District that the cottages “will often form a central point to a landscape by which the whole shall be connected, and an influence of pleasure diffused over all the objects that compose the picture.”¹⁴² Clearly in Governors Bay, New Zealand’s heritage of the quarter acre section and the lifestyle block have taken on strong associations of ruralness or rather the non urban. Yet the attempt to use large section size to blend the settlement in can result in a larger area of impact on the landscape.

Increases in the size of the township were however, generally viewed negatively. “The extent of the subdivisible land was unknown by everyone virtually...so land that was seen as paddocks suddenly had houses.”^{Joe} Perhaps this is in part due to a belief in the high natural values in Governors Bay: “Established trees and bush whereas you get your Church Bay Charteris Bay they’re all more English type gardens and conifers and stuff like that...”^{Tim} The issue of nativeness is addressed later but here it is clearly allied with a relative valuing of what is thought of as a natural environment over a cultural landscape.

¹⁴⁰ Mansfield K. p109

¹⁴¹ The effect of rural subdivision and development on landscape values p3

¹⁴² cited in Seddon 1970 p41

5.2.2 On the waterfront

Interviewees were asked whether they considered the foreshore reserves to be natural areas. Responses ranged from “definitely,”^{Jed} “both natural and modified,”^{Nan} to “no [not natural]...unnatural.”^{Joe}

Those who felt the greatest sense of ‘naturalness’ began by citing intangibles, “it feels natural,”^{Nan}, “it’s in the air, part of that feeling...clean, it’s natural, serene,”^{Jed} “it’s a touchy feely thing.”^{Nan} While the foreshore can indeed be calm, it is also often very dynamic with wind and waves. Joe speaks of “battling” the weather in the bay. These responses suggest perhaps respondents are thinking of an idealised rather than actual landscape, a place where ‘nature’ is as it should be, calm and refreshing. The experience of Governors Bay I would suggest, are more complicated.

More material clues came with the presence of plants, native or otherwise. “There’s established trees,”^{Tim} “there’s natives that grow on the hill there,”^{Jed}, “there’s native trees and greenery,”^{Nan} and in reference to the ‘unnaturalness’ of the track towards Maori gardens, “just about 100% noxious weeds and the trees that are there are pine trees and things.”^{Joe} Clearly naturalness can be associated with growing things. This is nature as the organic, non human other.

The complexities of the Aotearoa/New Zealand environment are not well served by this simple nature/culture dualism. While Environment Court rulings tell us that pine trees and dairy cows are natural, Joe clearly recognises the role of human agency in the creation of the landscape. Interestingly none of the respondents mentioned the native plantings during their considerations of naturalness. Although native, these restoration plantings are clearly not natural in the sense of occurring without human assistance.

The Arcadian ideal reappeared when some respondents brought up the issue of accessibility. The naturalness of the area is represented by its being “inaccessible,”^{Jed} “totally away from things.”^{Nan} Here a sense of remoteness is expressed yet it must be a relative term for at the same time it is “easily accessible.”^{Nan} Presumably this means easily accessible to the residents while maintaining the meanings of a remote area. In an area immediately adjacent to a small settlement, remote means away from buildings, roads, people, the symbols of human presence.

This is developed further in responses to the perceived neglect of the foreshore areas. To some, neglect is a sign of naturalism, to others a sign that human interference has disturbed the harmony of the natural ecosystem: “bit neglected,...some of the things that have been introduced are taking over.”^{Pam} Here the values of the picturesque are in conflict with ideas of ecology.

The Picturesque arose again with the idea of a construct of a nature that does not change. “It’s been there since I can remember...Rowan House and ones like that it’s all bush.”^{Tim} Interestingly, the area in front of Rowan House is planted in native shrubs but the understorey is cleared out and the main ground cover is *Vinca*, a non-native. The effect is picturesque, that is not natural *per se* but a managed naturalism. Here as in many of the instances above, a knowledge of ecology, even a basic plant knowledge would allow a more nuanced reading of the landscape, and perhaps prevent the confusion between a picturesque and an unmodified landscape. These confusions are indicative of the extent to which the conventions of the picturesque have become absorbed into the meanings we create for the landscape. As Nasseur says “Picturesque conventions seem so intrinsic to nature that they are mistaken for ecological quality.”¹⁴³

Some of the more complex responses came from the consideration of the place of structures in natural areas. “There are modifications, like the jetty...but they are pretty much in keeping...it’s touched lightly,”^{Nan} and hence do not diminish the naturalness of the foreshore. Natural means the use of “rock walls and gabions rather than concrete,”^{Joe} although “the road’s an artificial thing and it feels it, it [doesn’t have] bush and pristine bays.”^{Joe} To Joe the best kind of nature is where the evidence of human activity is minimal. Once again however this use of nature obscures the changes wrought by humans on the landscape. The Marlborough Sounds, the area Joe holds up as a contrast to Governors Bay, is also a heavily modified landscape.

Conceptions of naturalness and the importance of native plantings have an important place in affecting management of the foreshore reserves. Initial development work was in the form of track cutting, driven by a desire for passive recreation space and a desire to restore the native vegetation. “We’d gather seeds from the reserves near by.”^{Jim} This concern for

¹⁴³ Nasseur, J 1995 p161

eco-sourcing predated the popularity of the idea, which has now moved far enough into the mainstream as to have influenced the recently written tree planting policy for the Banks Peninsular District Council.

These ideas are not however universally accepted. They are seen by some as “fashionable now, will go unfashionable again,”^{Liz} and “we are moving forward with being purist.”^{Ben} Here Ben uses ‘purist’ in a negative sense. The history of attitudes to native planting is considered in the next section, but perhaps the last word on the relativity of naturalness should go to Bob who while recognising the highly altered state of the foreshore valued it primarily for its visual character, “it’s not the purism that’s important it’s the visual thing...it may not be pristine [but] it’s the best we have.”^{Bob}

5.3 *Nativeness*

New Zealand is a country with a large number of endemic species of both flora and fauna. To the Pakeha settlers in the nineteenth century it combined the exotic with the familiar as its temperate climate had similarities with that of Britain but its flora appeared exotic and tropical. The first priority of the settlers was to anglicise this landscape, to populate it with acclimatised animals and plants from ‘home’. This has led to the extinction of numerous species of birds and plants. Although some native plants were propagated by Pakeha, not till the beginning of the twentieth century were the first ‘natives only’ nurseries established, and native gardens were a rarity until the nineteen sixties. Now as talk of a republic is beginning to be heard and a new environmental consciousness is spreading, discourses of native planting and restoration ecology are strengthening.

Native plants and nativeness discourses are not just about ecology. For example in the nineteen twenties in Germany, a call was made for a bio-ethics or biological ethics in landscape design. Driven in part by a concern to preserve those plants that were native to the region and to protect them from faster growing exotics, an attempt was made to foster a national style of gardens, a German style of Garden Art.¹⁴⁴ The choice of plants was to be driven by concerns of science, (yet some substitutions were allowed if they looked appropriate) and race. Only the higher races truly bonded with their place of origin, Jews and Gipsies were nomads. Therefore Germans needed a truly German landscape, with only

¹⁴⁴ Bulmain and Groening p75

German plants.¹⁴⁵ Plant movements into Germany have been occurring for centuries so the problem of defining what is indigenous is a very complex one. Although the endemic distinction is easier to make in New Zealand, that is only part of the story. The large number of naturalised plants here and the widespread use of exotics, in particular in rural and urban landscapes, make management decisions equally complex. Although blanket denunciations of the non-native are certainly appealing in some senses, the reality of landscape management require more nuanced responses.

As noted above the Governors Bay landscape is one of improved pasture land, large areas of which are now being overtaken by gorse, broom and bracken (a native) which often shelter native regeneration. In the gullies and on the crags remnant bush exists. This type of landscape has been termed a 'transformation landscape' for although there are some areas of indigenous vegetation, in the most part it is covered with a flora that is alien to the country.¹⁴⁶ The settlement of Governors Bay is itself heavily treed, with many garden plantings of native shrubs and a large number of exotic trees. The largest of these are eucalypts,¹⁴⁷ which have a well known story attached to their planting.

Purportedly an early settler bought and planted carrot seed, which turned out to be eucalyptus. Rather than discard them he planted them around the bay in road reserves and along the foreshore. Along the roads they created avenues that in summer filled the air with the scent of eucalyptus and provided perches for kingfishers and bellbirds. The eucalypts are mostly gone now, removed to clear views or for safety as the density of building increased. Among those that remain are some very large trees, and this, in conjunction with their long association with the bay, perhaps explains the frequency with which they are mentioned by the interviewees.

Eucalyptus trees provide another good example of the changing discourses concerning native and non-native plants. Now grown in many parts of the world, they were spread widely in the nineteenth century by colonising settlers. In parts of India and the Americas

¹⁴⁵ In fact the differences between the German and Polish countryside were used as evidence of the Poles inferiority and a justification for invasion. Nurseries were started to facilitate the Germanification of the landscape.

¹⁴⁶ Seddon 1976 reprinted in Landprints.

¹⁴⁷ The collective term should be eucalypt, Eucalyptus is the genus. The terms Eucalypts or eucalyptus trees are however commonly used.

they have become largely naturalised and in California at least sometimes mistaken for natives.¹⁴⁸ The eucalypt was regarded as a remarkable tree, due both to its size and its ability to drain swampy ground. This was especially important in areas where malaria was prevalent as there was no other cure. In recent decades in the third world, attempts to promote eucalypts for coppicing and timber have been opposed as their use has become identified with an ecological branch of ongoing imperialism, supported by such organisations as the World Bank and IMF.¹⁴⁹

Dislike of eucalypts can also be based on a concern for their displacing native plants, though this fear is often predicated on a now discredited view of interdependent communities in which any change in a species numbers is viewed as a possible threat to the entire community. Current ecological thought does not view invasion of a vacant niche as likely to cause extinction.¹⁵⁰ Thus the presence of eucalypts, although sometimes restricting understorey re-growth¹⁵¹ is otherwise not inhibiting growth of native plants; another example of the dynamic interplay of discourses.

In Governors Bay responses to the eucalypts were polarised. On one hand a pro-eucalyptus faction; “I don’t think getting rid of the [eucalyptus] trees is a good idea,...its a good idea for the birds but...cats...[are] always bringing in birds and the eucalypts are ...really good for the bellbirds,”^{Pam} and more glowing praise “...Here it’s heaps of natives and gums, not that gums are native but it sort of is here...”^{Tim} This honorary native status is recognition of the place the trees have gained in the meaning of Governors Bay, their cultural value gives the eucalypts the highest accolade- they belong here.

The other camp was the anti-exotic camp; “I...don’t have any respect for the eucalypts [although] maybe I should be thankful that the bellbirds like [them].”^{Pat} “Pines gums and macrocarpa kind of take over and dominate, it’s a blot on the landscape...[although] macrocarpa, [is a] great wood.”^{Nan} A number of people felt the eucalypts were “out of scale”^{Jed} with the landscape, implicit was the idea that they were ‘unnatural’ they didn’t belong and were hence unworthy. “I have a great deal more respect for matai and

¹⁴⁸ Personal coversations held with Californians by the author.

¹⁴⁹ Stein 1992 p36

¹⁵⁰ Ibid p37

totara.”^{Pat} I have mentioned above the role the natural environment plays in creating a sense of identity in New Zealand, making up for a perceived lack of (Pakeha) cultural history. Here, threats to the purity of that vision, dilutions of the New Zealandness of the landscape are rejected. Given that Governors Bay is a ‘transformation’ landscape, it is difficult not to draw analogies between this desire for environmental purity and xenophobia.

Although views of the suitability of eucalypts varied, there was no such ambiguity with *Pinus radiata*. “...Cass Bay, Lyttelton you can walk on the foreshore...but that’s mostly pines...”^{Sue} The tone here was of negative dismissal, the experience was lessened by the main tree being non native even though the same spatial experience, shaded and enclosed by trees, was often mentioned as a positive attribute of Governors Bay that differentiated it from other places in the harbour.

This illustrates the power of the discourses of nativeness. The nativeness or otherwise of the site changed the phenomenological or experiential characteristics of the place. In Governors Bay this high value placed on nativeness was common.

In fact the majority of interviewees have native plants in their gardens and are actively seeking to create ‘native gardens’ or naturalistic gardens. This they state is in a response to the site, “the stream and the bush”^{Pat} or “I just feel that there is enough bush [here already] that the natives just fit in.”^{Nan} In this they are responding to what they see as the important parts of the place now, in particular the remnant bush in the gullies. “We’ve created something we believe is in line with Governors Bay.”^{Pam} As discussed above the ‘responses’ people were creating to their idea of place are very different to those of even just a few decades ago when far more exotic plants were being used and less ‘naturalistic’ garden styles were more dominant. Those gardens were also ‘responding to their site’ but with different aesthetic conventions. One thing they hold in common it must be reiterated, is the ideas of the picturesque.

Another group were aware of the discourses of restoration ecology, and were aware of the remnant status of the existing eco-systems. This knowledge was often associated with a sense of loss, “it just breaks my heart...”^{Pat} which for Pat was combined with an ecological

¹⁵¹ Eucalypts release oils into the soil which inhibit the growth of some native plants.

consciousness “I would like us to be more aware/sensitive...”^{Pat} Pat was one of those who valued the indigenous/endemic nature of the bush, and celebrated its distinctiveness. “We have got such a huge variety. Growing together it has its beauty and there is nothing like it.”^{Pat} These people tended to view their garden making from within the restoration discourse, speaking of habitat provision for birds and other fauna. Others viewed restoration as an idealistic goal. “It would be great to bring it back to its original state, well not original necessarily, maybe...an adaption.”^{Joe}

A large group were aware of the regeneration of native bush that is occurring as land is retired from pasture and the gorse and broom take over. Awareness of the role of nursery crops in providing shelter to regenerating native bush affected the meanings given to gorse and broom. “One thing I don’t like is the gorse...it should be native,”^{Tim} “they reckon gorse is a good medium to start regenerating through because it protects all of those natives while they come on.”^{Nan}

As stated above the discourses of nativeness are strong and compelling in Governors Bay. Driven by an ecological imperative, a sense of loss in some cases, and a desire to harmonise with the environment, community support for native plantings has even worked its way up into the District Council’s new tree planting policy. Governors Bay also has its own Native Plants nursery and as was detailed in Chapter Four, the community association supported the development of native planting guides for the harbour basin. Even people who claim to know little about plants support the planting of natives.

The principle reason given for increased plantings of natives was to improve habitat for native birds. Although research suggests that increased plantings do prove beneficial to native birds, there are two additional sub discourses also in operation here that warrant mention. The first is that of eco-sourcing, and the second, maintenance of plantings that have cultural heritage value, such as the eucalyptus trees. There is such conflict between these discourses that at one meeting a person’s support for of the latter was used to question the feasibility of the former. Clearly in some minds these ideas are considered incompatible. By far the most strongly expressed feelings were those in favour of restoration plantings, eco-sourcing and the removal of exotics. These discourses rely on science and in particular ecology on the one hand, and on an appeal to a sense of a lost nature on the other.

The negotiation between the various discourses of nativeness has had a clear effect on the landscape of the bay, from the maintenance of nursery crop cover on the hills to the nature of plantings on the foreshore. In the latter instance I have detailed some of the discourses involved regarding the landscape, it is also important to consider other discourses concerning public participation and involvement, and the role of what has been described above as social capital.

5.4 Tidiness

The rural and urban landscapes of Aotearoa/New Zealand are notable for their tidiness; whether the chemical dependent, industrial landscape of wire fenced paddocks, sprayed fence lines and neatly trimmed wind breaks or the city sections, “mowed every weekend, trimmed arranged, composed, groomed to conform to the patterns of respectability and middle-class good taste.”¹⁵² Much of this highly controlled order has no practical reason; the windbreaks for example provide no greater shelter if shorn annually. In the section on management in Chapter Two, I examined this passion for order and considered how it related to discourses of control of nature, and social pressures to conform and be seen to be a good manager of the landscape. In Aotearoa it has been suggested that this overtly expressed control is a continuation of settler practices of controlling and ordering the landscape.¹⁵³ These practices were purely pragmatic or economic, but associated with discourses of duty and godliness.¹⁵⁴ The settler was driven by a duty; to Christianise, to tame, to clear and to domesticate. In nineteenth century New Zealand order was in fact next to Godliness.

In Governors Bay at the end of the twentieth century discourses of tidiness and order have come to be opposed by other discourses of nature and nativeness. The meaning of order has changed, to represent an overly controlled suburban ideal of conformity with a formal landscape, trimmed and neatly edged.

Many people mentioned the rural nature of the bay and the changes that occurred after the introduction of reticulated water and the sewerage system. "...we had quite a few alternative

¹⁵² Cooper, R

¹⁵³ Cooper, R

¹⁵⁴ Shephard p14

or minimal income people living here ah there were families who earned their living on an arts and crafts basis and didn't have a lot of money so we lost them and their children..."^{Sue} Several people noted this change as the beginning of a change in the type of people that lived in the bay, and a change in approach to management of the landscape.

Pam, who identifies herself as a member of the "wild brigade", has lived in the bay for most of her life. In her view "everything is getting increasingly regulated...I do think a lot of people would be wanting to tidy it all up ...it would be a shame."^{Pam} The shame is due to the loss of meaning as a casual and informal place. Many people differentiated between some of the newer houses, which they saw as having a large impact on the landscape. This was thought to be inappropriate for the bay- "some of the houses...you sort of wonder, why did they come over here [to Governors Bay] and do it,"^{Tim} " bigger houses...generally they have a bigger impact on the landscape...the people, not to be nasty about it, are more ordinary, they don't want trees to block their view, they want everything neat and tidy and they wash their cars on weekends...the people in Governors Bay before were non car washers."^{Joe} This was the clearest demarcation of the 'types of people' in the bay, Joe articulated a sentiment shared by many.

Other interviewees who could perhaps be counted as sympathisers of the wild brigade, acknowledged the extent of human modification on the foreshore. They were not at all averse to intervening along the foreshore. Their objections could perhaps be read as objecting to an aesthetic of overt control. Again we come back to the meaning of the foreshore: what is the appropriate aesthetic of management and the power of the naturalistic landscape- even in what has been acknowledged as a heavily modified landscape.

The conflict between meanings and the resulting management regimes became clear when discussing such issues as use of the foreshore. Attempts have been made to limit horses on the beach, and dinghies on the jetty. "We're not living in a showcase. These places are here to be used"^{Nan} "I like to see them riding their horses down to the beach and into the water, it's nice to have that slightly wild, country feel..."^{Joe} "Being able to bring your horses down to the beach or your boat up to paint it, ...[this] wouldn't even be considered on Sumner...[but] it's fine on our foreshore...you can't just turn the whole place into a...park with a sign saying no dogs, no fires ,no fun..."^{Joe}

The question of aesthetic conventions rises again with the tide. In some views, "the biggest drawback is the tide. When the tide goes out, it is large mud flats that are pretty unattractive." ^{Nan} The view of mudflats and swamps as unattractive predates recognition of their productive potential and their important place in the food chain. In earlier decades tidal flats were seen as useless, non-productive wastelands and the rubbish dumps on Banks Peninsula were nearly all located on the foreshore. These have all now been closed in belated recognition of the pollution that has occurred.

Other interviewees liked the tidal nature of the bay. "The tidal movements are always fun, I love them, you know you get down there sometimes and there is a super high tide and the whole atmosphere is different" ^{Joe} Some view the tides favourably as they discourage visitors from over the hill. "Governors Bay has a reputation in Christchurch of...being tidal, you know, mud, not many people know about Sandy Bay cos at half to full tide it's a beautiful place to sit" ^{Tim} Children also find the mud irresistible and have been seen skidding across it on sleds.

Tidiness as an underlying theme in the landscape is replaced by an overt desire for tidiness in human affairs. This is apparent in discussions about the boatbuilder, whose shed was recently destroyed by an act of arson. Here the desire for tidiness combines with a nautical version of Arcadia, the craftsman at work on the foreshore. "I am not objecting to a boat works *per se*...you could have a very successful, very tidy, nice looking boat yard, but I don't think that one is." ^{Nan} "It's a bit of a shame what has happened to the boathouse...it's pretty tacky whereas when Jeffcote was there were boats being built and there was the smell of wood..." ^{Pam} Again the ideal is a romantic, controlled ideal. Here the skilled boatbuilder working with wood toils tidily, harmoniously on the foreshore

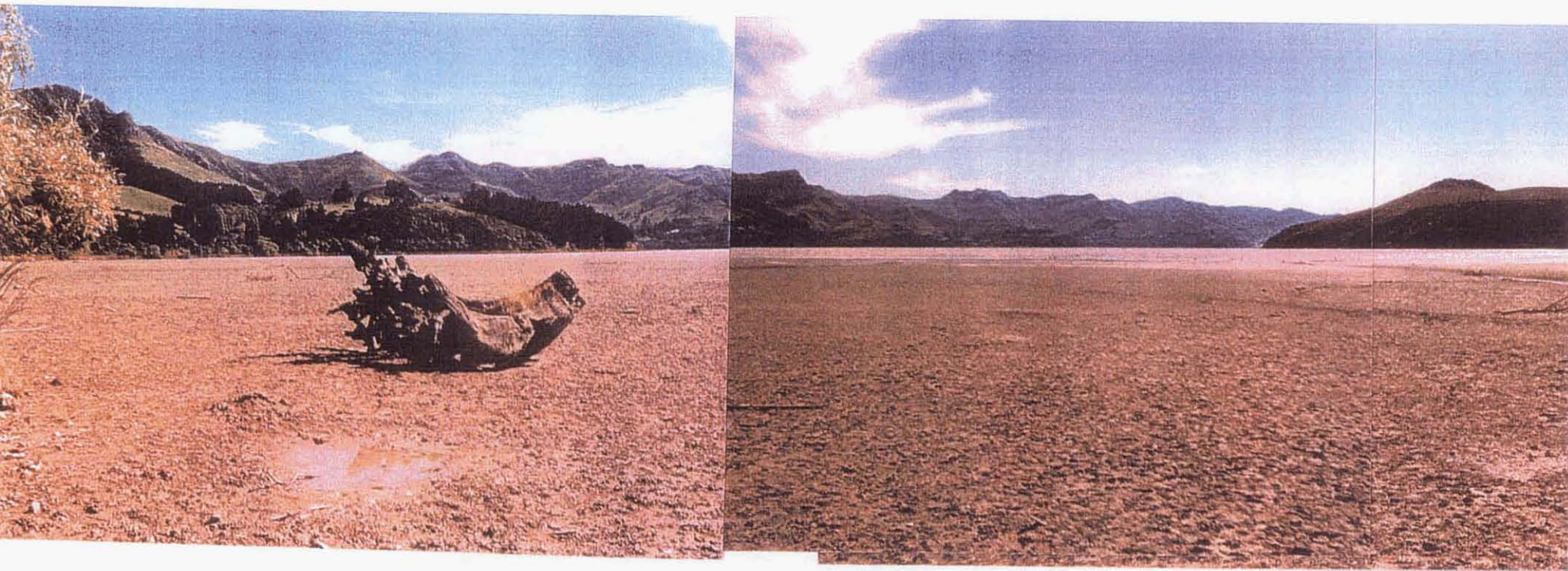


Plate 16: Low Tide at Allandale

. The actuality of scattered broken boats, storage containers and drums of chemicals didn't measure up to the ideal. In fact the original boatbuilder "Lionel started his career ...on the beach, and we all like that as a concept...when people get down on Cunard...loosen up, it's a working foreshore"_{Joe}

As discussed so often above the idealised landscape discourse appears intertwined with many other. It combines with ideas of tidiness at scales down to the individual tree. As a justification for pruning I was told, "It's totally unkempt, they just grow wild, they don't look nice"_{Ken} Only with tidying could the tree look its best, look as a tree should.

As time passes, places change, physically and in their meanings for people. As interest has focussed more on the foreshore there have attempts made to tidy and control it, and attempts to naturalise and replant it. In the past, "the kids used it mostly,(the foreshore) it was the wild area,"_{Sue} It was an area of neglect and abandonment, where rubbish was dumped, a perfect place for exploration and adventure for "kids smoking their wacky backy."_{Bob} Now despite some aspirations, limited resources and slips prevent too much tidying and control. Something many of the residents of Governors Bay are happy about.

5.5 *Public versus private*

Discourses of public and private rights have a long history. In England access to land and resources outside of villages was shared prior to the enclosures of the commons in the eighteenth century. As the British Empire expanded, and more and more of the globe became incorporated into Imperial systems of measurement and commerce, the demise of the commons followed to other parts of the world.¹⁵⁵

Contemporary New Zealand has a limited sense of 'the commons.' With Pakeha settlement the majority of the country was put into individual titles, and without traditional footpaths, (such as survived in Britain), access to the countryside is entirely at the discretion of farmers. As I discussed in Chapter Four, one place where there remains a strong sense of entitlement is public access to water bodies and along the foreshore. This is illustrated by the widely held belief in the existence of the Queen's Chain, which many people believe guarantees access to every water body in the country. Hence, even when the Governors

¹⁵⁵ One of the first regional histories of the commons is: *Common Lands and Customary Law: Institutional Change in North India over the Past Two Centuries*, by Minoti Chakravarty-Kaul.

Bay foreshore was held in low regard, there was no doubt that public access was a guaranteed right; “if the council tried to charge anyone to launch a boat at Sandy Bay they’d have a fight on their hands.”^{Nan}

The nature of this entitlement has however changed over time. This is a function of changed meanings attributed to places in part as perceptions of distance change. In the nineteen thirties (as discussed in the previous chapter) baches were built on the foreshore reserve at Maori Gardens. “things just used to happen in those days, there was no damage being done and you weren’t infringing anyone’s rights.”^{Ken} At that time Maori Gardens and even Governors Bay itself was a long way from Christchurch. The baches were considered isolated, “not a lot of people used to go round there, just the ones with the baches”^{Ken} Thus although the baches were on public land, no one was very put out. As another resident put it “they were very secluded and never worried anyone, there was never any hippy types or wayouters living there, just families”^{Bob} Initially the bach owners didn’t even pay rates till “the Mt Herbert County Council woke up to the fact that they had someone there who wasn’t paying rates and [then] they did actually pay some rates.”^{Bob}

The baches are still there and unlike Taylors Mistake, a corresponding community that has been caught up in the edges of Christchurch city, there seems to be no opposition to their presence although restrictions have been put in place to prevent further construction.

“When we had the issues in Christchurch with Taylors [Mistake] they kind of coat tailed on that...and they issued some policy that said..., you can renovate but you cannot build and you must always be on the original footprint...”

In Governors Bay the meaning of the baches as cultural history is widely recognised, “it represents another type of lifestyle, the family bach 60 years ago, there’s no power, no phone, it’s totally against council regulations, but just the same it’s nice to have...”^{Jed} This is helped by their apparent separation from the community, “we don’t know a soul from Maori Gardens for all the time we have been here...”^{Jed}

Some of the reserve land behind the foreshore tells another story, as with no perceived value, it was co-opted by adjacent residents. Many did and some still do, drop rubbish and garden waste ‘over the edge.’ “There’s always been a tension with the people round the top who used to throw branches and rubbish [down].”^{Jim}

The council, due to its lack of resources has long held a *laissez-faire* attitude to reserve land and especially to road reserves. There are a lot of paper roads¹⁵⁶ in the District and the liability for maintenance of them would be huge. Most run through farmland and are unmarked in any way. Council policy therefore mandates responsibility for road reserves onto the adjacent landowners.¹⁵⁷ This has led to some conflicts, and one recent dispute on the foreshore which ended up before the Community Board.

A resident clearing out the ‘wilderness’ in front of their property and planting natives and some cultivars had offended neighbours who operate within a more rigorous discourse of nativeness. Yet the effect of this work was no different from and indeed used more native plants than, work carried out decades earlier by the adjacent property owners. That work was however carried out in a time when “things just happened, you weren’t infringing on anyone’s rights.”^{Ken}

The incident described is minor in and of itself yet it is revealing of the landscape discourses involved. The view of a number of Community Board members was summed up by Liz, herself not a board member. “The area was totally modified over the years, people are to be encouraged to look to their own areas of road reserve”^{Liz}. The board then sent a letter to “thank them for clearing the wilderness,”^{Bob} and asking that they remove the (few) non native plants. A victory for the discourse of nativeness, but a loss for that of the commons.

As discussed in Chapter Four there has been very little policy concerning management of reserves and this which has created problems for the community board and council staff when dealing with residents seeking guidance or permission to act. “Council has been trying to promote people adopting reserves, therefore there is a need for policy guidelines for staff.”^{Liz} This lack of direction is also recognised by some residents. “You [need] for reserves some common objectives... to always rely on this spontaneous community thing is not enough, cos people may spontaneously decide to take branches off trees or something...”^{Joe}

¹⁵⁶ Paper roads are unformed roads, marked as road reserve on planning maps. As stated in Chapter Four, much of the harbour foreshore is paper road, and they run from sea level to the summit of the hills in many places. One of the reasons for their existence was to maintain foreshore access, regardless of topography.

¹⁵⁷ Reserves-Tree and Vegetation Policy vol viii p 2177

There is of course some opposition to the reserve adoption scheme, “everyone has their different sorts of gardens but as long as they don’t impinge on the public spaces...,”^{Pam} and “it’s a bit annoying because people do take things into their own hands...”^{Joe} Joe has in fact participated in plantings on the foreshore, in work arranged by the Community Association that technically had no greater authority than the offenders above. Being part of a community group has given him a greater sense of entitlement to act, and the tasks undertaken in terms of planting native plants reflect the changed meaning given to the foreshore as a public asset.

5.6 *The identity of Governors Bay*

The setting of Governors Bay defines the community as a discrete entity with clear boundaries. It is a relatively homogenous community and is united by a sense of living in a special place. Anecdotal evidence suggests the sense of community is quite strong, with most interviewees commenting favourably on the differences between Governors Bay and where ever they lived previously. “I think Governors Bay has its fair share of people-very individualistic-and with strong opinions...they are not your average urban kind of person. You go with the landscape I think.”^{Pat}

As was clear in the discussions of naturalism above, differentiation from Christchurch was a unifying theme in the discourse of residents. “Y’know, Christchurch people just don’t like hills.”^{Jed} “Christchurch people generally do not value the sea and have an aversion to living on hills, and have an aversion to not being within ten minutes of town...”^{Joe} Christchurch people don’t appreciate Governors Bay and this reinforces the residents’ sense of difference.

The people from ‘over the hill’ can also be viewed as potential invaders who may swamp the resources of the bay.

Already there is pressure starting to build up on places like Sandy Bay, down at the jetty where folk come over for weekends and evenings. You’ve got this sort of congestion if you count the number of cars going down there, people coming over and not knowing some of the local rules if you like. I went down there one night and there was a whole bunch of cars parked all around on the beach.^{Sal}

This would seem to be a not uncommon response for members of a small settlement adjacent to a city. Such differentiation helps small groups coalesce and there is a clear sense of ‘the way things are done’ in Governor’s Bay..

In and of itself this would not be remarkable, but given the Community Associations role as landscape manager, the community's relationship with its neighbour is important. The harbour basin is a recreational resource of regional significance, and thus the Association's decisions may affect quite a large constituency. This issue was discussed under community management in Chapter Two but it is also important to note the potential influence of discourses of identity on management of the foreshore for the larger community.

The role of identity and local control was also apparent in the motivation behind the management plan.

We could see that if Bank's Peninsula became amalgamated with Christchurch, which was obviously on the cards and xxx (unclear) closing in on the final vote, then the Christchurch City Council Parks Department, Recreational Group would be over the hill like a dose of salts because, obviously, at the moment, their bailiwick stops on the ridge line.^{Sal}

If local control was to be maintained then at least, documented evidence of community will should be set in place. Here the discourse of community identity for Governors Bay is helping create pressure for community action, to protect the identity of a strongly defined community.

5.7 Management

Discourses of management were discussed in Chapter two. These have some clear meanings for the interviewees. In response to a question about the future of the foreshore, Pat suggests its role is as "quite a private recreational area, the less management the better."^{Pat} Management here is associated with control and change and is antithetical to the discourses of naturalism which Pat uses. Management in this sense is a very human activity, with associated aesthetic conventions of tidiness and neatness.

Desiring a similar outcome but with a different sense of management, Jim sees the foreshore as "an area that's best managed as a natural area with robust structures..."^{Jim} This view entails a broader meaning of management, and recognises that human intervention creates a representation of nature. Hence, evidence of management, such as structures should conform to the meaning of a 'natural' area-robust, heavy, strong, larger than human scale. This contrasts with the Environment Court opinion discussed earlier in which 'man-made-structures' of necessity diminish naturalness.

The discourse of management therefore helps define the form of human intervention on the foreshore. If management means overt human control then it clashes with the discourse of naturalism that gives meaning to the foreshore. In the discourses that Jim uses however, management and naturalism are seen as compatible. Because he recognises a wider meaning of management, a wider range of options are available. These can be characterised as aesthetic conventions, of which those of the naturalistic landscape are but one type.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have teased out some of the discourses of landscape that are existing in Governors Bay. Having traced some of their origins it is possible now to gain an understanding of the ways in which they conflict and negotiate in and over the landscape. It is also clear how discourses are defined by their cultural and historical specificity.

Foucault characterised discourses as conduits for power, a power that runs through and drives the social. In the next chapter I shall explore the effects these discourses have on the management of the landscape; how the power they conduct manifests in the landscapes of New Zealand.

Chapter 6. Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I traced the history of landscape discourses in Governors Bay and looked at their negotiation and competition. This chapter continues the discussion of these discourses and considers how they effect the management of the landscape. It also considers the implications of devolving responsibility for the landscape down to the community level.

It then relates the meaning and importance of this work to landscape theory and landscape architectural practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand and makes recommendations for further research.

6.2 Review of themes

6.2.1 The [Re]presented Landscape

In representations of place we can view discourses of art and meaning, and the manner in which they affect both our viewing of the landscape and the way we attribute meaning to it. In particular we can see the role of aesthetic, cultural and social discourses in defining what is represented, how it is represented and what it means to those who view it.

Of particular significance for landscape representations in Aotearoa/New Zealand are discourses of 'the Picturesque,' the 'Arcadian Myth' and the 'Idealised landscape' and their intersections with discourses of 'Romantic Idealism' and a 'Modernist Nationalism'. As well as having influenced the style of [re]presentation, these discourses are now affecting the way we actually 'see' the landscape.

When discussing the arts it is commonly accepted practice to place a work in its *oeuvre*. It is far less common to assess landscapes by the aesthetic conventions that determine their form. Yet discourses such as the picturesque and the 'naturalistic' landscape construct just such conventions, and by acknowledging this we can see to what extent the landscapes around us are [re]presentations; of nature, scenery or other discourses.

6.2.2 Naturalness

Most of these discourses in Aotearoa consider nature as non-human other, and utilise a nature/culture dichotomy. Some of the factors affecting the 'nature of this nature' include; knowledge of ecology, the Arcadian myth and the picturesque. These last two were also accompanied by the subdiscourse of a 'naturalistic' aesthetic.

Of the discourses mentioned above, knowledge of plants and/or ecology allowed the recognition of more subtle positioning on the nature/culture axis. While some people recognised ecological restoration as a human landscape very few people recognised the degree to which culture and nature are interwoven.

Nature was defined by the presence of markers that ranged from its intangible 'feel' to the presence of plants, native or exotic. Quiet and isolation were considered characteristics of natural areas, while the presence of 'sympathetic structures' did not prevent an area from being considered 'natural.' Sympathetic meant they were in accordance with the agreed aesthetic conventions, generally in a naturalistic landscape this meant rugged, robust structures.

6.2.3 Nativeness

Discourses of nativeness are gaining in strength and popularity. In the past these have been associated with race and xenophobia, now they have been co-opted by discourses of identity. Since the first self conscious seekings for a New Zealand identity by writers and artists in the nineteen twenties and thirties, the landscape has been used to bolster a sense of New Zealand's uniqueness and now to support the preservation of bio-diversity.

Generally this occurs in conjunction with a discourse of nature that is nostalgic for a lost purity that may or may not have ever existed and a set of aesthetic conventions heavily reliant on the picturesque and idealised landscapes. Restoration discourses conflict with the idea of a transformation landscape, and often fail to see that restored ecosystems are as much human artefacts as a rose garden.

The concept of nativeness is itself not exclusive. Non-natives were suggested to be as-good-as-a-native, when their place in the meaning of a landscape was significant.

Opposition to the-non native was sometimes based on fears of their ecological dominance, although this may be due to a reliance on out-moded theories of ecosystem fragility.

Occupation of a vacant niche is not now seen as a threat to the entire system and native bush is re-growing in the shelter of exotic nursery crops. This suggests some of the complexities of the inter-relationships between native and exotic.

6.2.4 Tidiness

One of the oldest enjoyments of landscape in Western cultures is appreciation of a settled scene.¹⁵⁸ Yet in New Zealand this enjoyment of an overtly managed landscape is carried to extremes. Whether from puritan values or an overblown settler ethic, the concern for tidiness goes far beyond the needs of utility or husbandry.

Shifts in the meaning of tidiness have now placed tidiness in opposition to discourses of nature and nativeness. This is manifest in the conflicting aesthetic conventions of naturalism and control, and the association of tidiness with suburbia. These signs produce more conflict when the idea of suburbia conflicts with meanings of ruralness, informality and high natural values.

6.2.5 Public vs Private

New Zealanders have a strong sense of a right to access the foreshore and the sea. This has produced the current debate over licenses for fishing in the sea. Yet in some areas deemed 'marginal', there is also a history of abuse of the foreshore, of treating it as a wasteland. Generally people view this type of appropriation negatively, but appropriation involving changes more in keeping with the meaning of the place are seen as less objectionable. Thus acceptable use of public land may not offend, transcending discourses of the sanctity of public open spaces.

This is more likely to be the case in areas with a low profile, that is, areas that have low rates of use, and in areas where the local government is seen as being unable or unwilling to maintain or manage the area. Thus it appears that discourses in support of the commons are selectively applied and without the strength and favour (or fervour) of other discourses, such as naturalism or nativeness.

¹⁵⁸ Shepard op cit p14

6.2.6 Management

Discourses of management are currently subsumed by a modernist idea of management as an instrumental process with the goals of control, maintenance and improvement. Thus there would be some negative response to the idea of managing a 'natural' area. The failure to recognise that natural area as artificial, means people do not appreciate the role of management in maintaining the aesthetic conventions they desire. Objection to management may come down to the aesthetic conventions adopted, and perceptions as to their suitability for a site.

6.2.7 Identity of place

Discourses of New Zealand identity have been growing since the arrival of Pakeha. Initially determined by New Zealand's relationship to Britain, not until the beginning of the twentieth century, was serious effort given to defining an independent meaning for this place. Significant in this process has been the conscious search begun by writers, poets and painters, for identity in the landscape. As C.K. Stead wrote, "A form of romanticism has been bred in which topography becomes a substitute for human society."¹⁵⁹ Yet this topography, particularly as evidenced in the media, has been a generic, non-specific scenery, devoid of connections in either an ecological or cultural sense.

At the specifically local scale, conflict arises when discourses clash around the meaning of a place. For example when discourses of naturalism and ruralness are competing with discourse of tidiness. The meaning which people give to a place must be congruent with the discourses under which or within which management is trying to operate.

6.3 Discussion of discourses

In Chapter Two when discussing the nature of discourses I compared them to interwoven threads, constructing between them the realities of our lives and landscapes. As has become apparent in the preceding chapter, a teasing out of these threads continually pulls at adjacent ones. For example, discussions of nature keep involving the picturesque and

¹⁵⁹ Stead, C.K. (1961) p84

nativeness. Teasing out nativeness brings up discourse of identity and ecology. This highlights the arbitrary nature of these categories or conceptualisations of knowledge. By framing we are not only defining the picture but actually bringing it into being.

Running through nearly all of the discourses of landscape discussed above is the picturesque. It is evident in the views of early Pakeha visitors to New Zealand, through the early settlers and their representations of the landscape and the way New Zealanders today speak about the landscape. Congruent with discourses of the picturesque are those of the idealised landscape. Whether speaking of large or small scale landscapes, indeed even down to the scale of a single tree, people view the landscape measured against an ideal constructed by discourses of aesthetics and tidiness.

Of note in the way people construct meaning in the landscape is their ability to maintain positions in apparently conflicting discourses. This suggests subtleties of shading that too coarse an analysis may miss. A further complication is people responding in (for example) an interview one way and then acting in another.¹⁶⁰ The concept of the transcendental subject was discarded by Foucault in his pursuit of discourse, and we, also, need to recognise the limitations and social construction of the notion of a consistent, unified individual.

Discourses can be in conflict at many different scales. Their conflict can occur at the level of the societal, the inter-personal, or even at the intra-personal. Meanings are dynamic and as they shift and change, spaces available for discourses form and disappear also. We have seen this in discourses of nativeness based on ecology, for example where the space created by one discourse for another vanishes as the discourse changes. This is part of the dynamic flux of meaning that makes up the social. Stability briefly occurs as power accrues to one or other discourse, supporters are enrolled and a space is created for action.

6.4 *Interpreting the themes and their relationship to management*

At this point I must reiterate the points made in the previous section about competing and intertwining discourses. I am not trying to make a simplistic teleological argument here. Rather I am trying to evoke the image of the tangled web of discourses that provides the setting in which the management decisions are made. Out of this tangle different people

draw different conclusions, for the discourses within which each operates are different. Indeed, intrapersonal conflict occurs also as discourses compete to form an individual's range of choice.

As discussed above, negotiation and competition between discourses creates meanings that are attributed to the landscape - for example rural, natural, native. Within these frameworks we then have notions of what values these meanings encompass, and how they are expressed in the landscape. For ruralness these may include quietness, birdlife, and low frequency of built forms. Discourses therefore affect the way we see landscape and the way we determine its meanings. They also determine the options we consider available for management and the actions we choose to take (or not take). In landscape management this works in two ways.

First is which issues we decide need to be addressed, that is which values need to be protected or enhanced, what is a problem or an asset. For example, at a time when discourses of nativeness are in the ascendancy, restoration planting may be seen as a priority, rather than some management process more concerned with an ethic such as tidiness. In short actions that are congruent with certain landscape meanings tend to gain our support. Actions that are discordant do not.

Second, discourses of management frame the options that we can consider. In Chapter Two I discussed the epistemology of management; what we accept as knowledge and hence who we think has authority to speak. I described how most current discourses of management give authority to instrumental, verifiable what we might call scientific knowledge, that which gives professional managers a basis on which to decide with rationality, the best course of action. Such knowledge is not static. For example, until recently, not controlling gorse and broom was considered 'irrational' as they were classified as 'noxious weeds.' Now they are viewed as potential nursery crops for native plant regeneration and letting them grow can be a sensible management option.

Further, challenges to the traditional management discourse now suggest the viability of other kinds of knowledge- experiential, emotional, kinaesthetic, and create space for their inclusion. By expanding the types of knowledge considered valid and viable, they expand

¹⁶⁰ I shall discuss this point further in the section 'Directions for future research.'

the range of people with authority to speak. Alternative ways of knowing, such as those suggested by Sandercock¹⁶¹ capture some of the wealth of meanings landscapes hold for people and can broaden the range of possibilities for management.

6.4.1 Landscape management and devolution

Devolution of landscape management down to the local level has a number of implications. In chapter two these were discussed in terms of models of community management of resources, landscape or otherwise. Now having explored the landscape discourses of Governors Bay and the history of landscape management there, I wish to discuss further the implications for the landscape. The problems discussed here are not just problems that exist in Governors Bay, but relate generally to landscape management in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The first issue is parochialism. As a small community dealing with an asset that is an integral part of the meaning of their place, it would be easy for local concerns to take precedence and to be resistant to new ideas or change. However when a community is managing a resource with a regional significance then some questions need to be addressed.

Of particular concern must be questions of enfranchisement. How are the rules set for who participates in the process and who performs what roles? How is the wider public notified of what is going on? In a community with strong discourses of identity where is the pressure to prevent disenfranchisement of regional and wider communities? This could particularly be a problem if there is an absence of sense of responsibility to other communities, such as when a small community feels threatened by a larger one.

Smaller communities may also be subject to greater pressures. Large organisations such as industries may well prefer to deal with a smaller community rather than national watchdog groups with a higher level of resources, and a clearer agenda. This has been obvious in the 'Wise Use' movement in the United States, where communities dependent on resource extraction have been supported by the extraction industries in speaking out in opposition to conservation groups.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 2.5.3.1

¹⁶² Maughan, Ralph and Nilson, Douglas (1993) in *What's old and what's new about the wise use movement*. Idaho State University Dept. of Political Science; <http://www.nwcitizen.com/publicgood/reports/maughan.htm>

Devolution has seldom been matched with an increase in available resources yet the additional tiers of administration may require more money not less. This will place additional burden on poorer communities. There is also a need for need for resources and motivation at the community level; volunteers with time and skills. In communities with low social capital this may spell doom for landscape management initiatives. In Governors Bay a number of initiatives; including a survey and development of a new management plan for the foreshore demonstrate the possibilities for a community with plenty of social capital.

As has become clear, devolved management works best when policy guidance is also set in place. This avoids the possibility of ad hoc decisions and lessens the chance of rancorous debate within the community. Further guidance also needs to be in place for connections to other areas of government. In terms of provisions of service this may also include issues such as occupational safety and liability, matters that many Community Associations are poorly equipped to handle.

Finally there is the question of social equity. Communities with low social capital will clearly need more assistance with community management issues. Indeed in extreme cases devolution may not be feasible at all. Governors Bay shows that indeed a community with a history of community involvement may be able to pick up greater responsibilities. However they also had the resources to enable them to gain access to professional help when needed. This will not always be the case.

The news however needs not be all grim. If social capital is built by community work, with better resourcing, landscape issues can be one focus for community development and empowerment. This has clearly happened in some communities threatened by environmental change or development with positive benefits for both the environment and the community.

6.5 *Implications of the research*

This work is located within the field of landscape architecture. Within that field lies a developing a body of theory concerning people's relationship to the landscape. This work

has implications for that theory and for the practice of landscape architecture in Aotearoa /New Zealand.

6.5.1 For theory

Landscape architectural theory is at a rudimentary stage in this country. Yet to produce landscape architects that are able to practice in an ecologically aware and ethical manner, we must assist them to critically assess ideas and processes and recognise the social and culturally specific nature of their practice.

To that end this work has taken Post-structuralist ideas of landscape and discourse and used them to examine discourses of landscape in Pakeha New Zealand. It has used this theory to examine the origins of these discourses and their influence upon community management of landscape. It has also started a critical examination of landscape management itself that is long overdue for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The Resource Management Act also seeks landscape theory that it is consultative. My research demonstrates an approach of talking to people, thereby ensuring a grounded basis to discussions of the landscape. It also implies acceptance of a broader range of ways of knowing the landscape, thus enfranchising a greater range of people.

6.5.2 For practice

In Chapter Two I located landscape architecture and design inside an expanded definition of landscape management. As the theory I am developing here concerns landscape management it also has implications for the practice of landscape architecture itself.

As Landscape Architects, we are especially prone to proclamations about the 'nature of place.' Whether it is talk of the 'genius loci' or attempts to express 'specificities of place' to combat the growing homogenisation of globalism, our work and language can often become caught up in seeking bio-physical 'essences' of place. That is not to say there is anything necessarily 'wrong' with these ideas, merely that their use is often naive and non-critical.

Many calls have gone out in recent years to increase or develop the role of the 'reflexive practitioner'.¹⁶³ This work goes some way to assist the development of such practices through demonstrating the critical examination of ideas and the way this can be used to facilitate responsible and original design. To this end the use of discourse analysis in conjunction with Sandercock's revised epistemology has proven a useful tool.

6.5.3 For Aotearoa / New Zealand

It has been suggested that imported ideas and expectations of landscape can be compared to imported weeds and pests. They have flourished and become established, and have done as much damage to indigenous flora and fauna as possums or goats or rats.¹⁶⁴

Ronda Cooper in the article containing the above remarks was calling for a reconnection with place; a reconnection with the meanings that are attributed in the cultural landscape. She felt that imported management conventions were draped over the landscape, hiding the stories, both Maori and Pakeha that give meaning and create connection to place. Her criticism includes the way we view the landscape as scenery as it rolls past the window, perhaps knowing nothing of the hundreds of years of human habitation. Yet the stories of the people that lived here, versed in the seasonal cycles of the fish and the birds, or clearing the land for farms and homes, are parts of the landscape. As too are the stories of how we have changed the environment in which we dwell.

I hope that by exploring the discourses of landscape in Aotearoa today, and tracing their origins, by critically examining them, it will help make us aware of how we think about the landscape, and help us think about those things that have been forgotten. As discourses are about power, stories are about people. Sometimes in the competition between discourses that defines us and our relationship with the landscape, some discourses are lost. Some stories are not told. And some connections are lost.

6.6 Recommendations for future research

As landscape architects we like to think we are uniquely poised, working with both nature and people. Such a position must however entail twin responsibilities; to the place in

¹⁶³ The term comes from an article by Schon and the plea was extended to New Zealand's landscape architects by Swaffield in an address to the profession in 1996.

which we work-Aotearoa/New Zealand and to society. To further the work of considering 'our place in this place', work has to continue in several directions. First, further research into discourses of landscape in Aotearoa is needed. This project has examined one small area, and one small group of people. We need to examine the nature of other discourses from other people in other places.

The other complementary direction for research is the nature of human actions within the landscape, that is how people and place enrol each other to effect or prevent change. With this study providing some of the background, there is a need to look at other examples of community landscape management and how they progressed. In particular communities less well endowed with resources, with less social capital. One of the roles of government is to complete projects of a scale too large for the individual community. Whether landscape management is such a project may yet need to be determined.

6.7 Conclusion

This project began with my return to Governors Bay after nearly fifteen years overseas and it seems right to finish by placing myself in view once more. To return to a place of one's childhood after a long absence was a sometimes unsettling experience. Much had changed, in both Governors Bay and me.

The people had changed, the settlement had changed, indeed for the people that lived there the meaning had changed. I often had the feeling that I knew something about the place that they did not...that I knew the place better merely because I had known it 'before it changed.' And sometimes, when the tide was high, lapping the bottom of the jetty, or the sun was shining just so on the mudflats, the place I knew reappeared. But we had both changed too much for it to stay.

Governors Bay now is a place that has a meaning and distinctiveness that the current residents have made their own. Just like the former residents they are attracted to the place because of its character and stories. That is not to say that they necessarily have a knowing and full connection with the place such as described by Ronda Cooper. They are however

¹⁶⁴ Cooper R op cit

seeking to live in a place where the ‘place’ is visible, and where they can add their own stories.

For whilst acknowledging the way discourses constitute the landscape and ourselves, we must also acknowledge how we add our own stories, our own actions and our own lives. As we create meanings that become part of the landscape around us, so too do we become part of those meanings and part of those places, and those places in turn become a part of us.



Plate 17: Author and children on the jetty at Governors Bay

Appendix A

Governors Bay Interview Questions

By the foreshore I mean the beach and the reserve land immediately adjacent to it, from Maori gardens around to Allandale.

Personal

How long have you lived in the bay?

Have you any involvement with any organisations in the bay?

Why did you move to the bay?

Has it changed since you moved here?

When do you use or visit the foreshore ?

What do you do there?

Has your use changed over the time you have been in the bay?

What do you like about the foreshore?

What do you dislike about it?

How does it compare to other places in the harbour?

Is it a natural area? modified? how do you tell?

Which do you prefer?

What is natural to you?

What plants grow there that you know of?

What sort of plants do you like? What sort of gardens?

Maori Gardens

Do you ever go to Maori Gardens?

How would you describe it?

What did people do there?

Is it an isolated place?

Private?

Foreshore

Who uses the foreshore?

Have you noticed any changes in the uses of this area over time?

Changes in user groups?

Physical changes:?

What history are you aware of?

Are you aware of any Maori history or issues concerning the foreshore

Decision Making Process

Who is responsible for the foreshore?

What are the roles of the community board, association and the council in managing the fore shore?

If someone is dissatisfied with a decision of the board what is their recourse, or how do they appeal?

What other groups or organisations are involved with the foreshore? What do they do?

Who has input into the management process?

Has the process changed in the last fifteen years or so?

I know there is some controversy about your front garden here, what are your thoughts about it?

What do you think is the basis of the disagreements?

Are there other controversial aspects of the foreshore management?

How do you think it should be managed, both in terms of process and aims or goals?

Are these issues being addressed at the moment?

What do you see as the role of the foreshore, what is it best used for?

Are there incompatible or inappropriate uses?

How would you like to see the foreshore of Governors Bay in thirty years time?

Who else should I speak to?

Appendix B

Lincoln University Environmental Management and Design Division

INFORMATION

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled:

Negotiating the Edge: Community management of the Governors Bay foreshore

The aim of this project is a study of the process of community management of the reserves on the Governors Bay foreshore.

Your participation in this project will involve an in depth interview that will take between one hour and two hours.

As a follow-up to this activity, you may be asked to expand on some of your answers or clarify some points. This could occur on the telephone.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: the identity of participants will not be made public without their consents. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all interview transcripts and data will be coded so no real names will be used and any identifying information will be removed. All transcripts and data will be stored in secure storage and accessed only by the researcher.

The project is being carried out by **David Baxter** who can be contacted at Lincoln University,

ph **325-3804 ext 8443.**

email: baxterdm@lincoln.ac.nz

If after the interview or at some later time you have further thoughts you wish to convey please feel free to contact him at the above number.

He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Subjects Ethics Committee and is being supervised by Doctor Jacky Bowring of Lincoln University.

Appendix C

Lincoln University Environmental Management and Design Division

CONSENT FORM

Negotiating the Edge:Community management of the Governors Bay foreshore

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix D

Traditional/ Current Areas for Kaimoana in Whakaraupo [from files of Banks Peninsula District Council as cited in Montgomery (1999)].

TRADITIONAL/CURRENT AREAS FOR KAIMOANA IN WHAKARAUPU

LYTTELTON BOROUGH

A File

C File

28 NT 1980

C File

In presenting this paper to you may I say my sources of information are in the writings of Poua Tikao, my grandfather (I have his papers). Poua Tikao Te Ururaki, the Kuia that brought me up, Hone Watene of Rapaki, my mother, what I have learnt over the years.

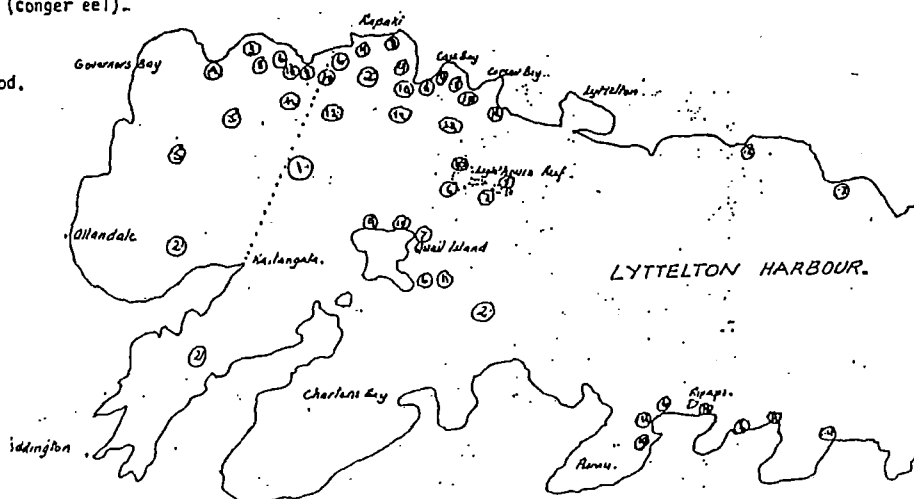
Although Whakaraupo is the name given to Lyttelton Harbour now it is the name given originally to the head of the harbour where Governors Bay, Allandale and Teddington lay.

I will put a number on the outline map and write the details on this page so as not to clutter the map.

1. The kai wairua of the Rapaki people is pioke the mudshark. In early times during the Spring and Summer months the pioke came up the harbour during easterly winds to feed on whiteko (a pupu with a soft shell) worms and pipi that are in the mud in Whakaraupo particularly in the area which is shallow up by Governors Bay. (I enclose that with a dotted line).

It is recorded that a plaited flax net stretched along that line at one time and that they would canoe along it every morning to clear it. In the 1920's Hone Watene and company used to drive to Governors Bay in horse and gig down to the water, into the water and out into the shallows. They would stand with slashers and kill the sharks and throw them into the gig. Today, fishing is done by nets but the area is becoming polluted and pioke scarce.

2. Spearing and netting flounders was traditional but now only trawling.
3. In an area of no more than 20 x 20 ft is the only bed of small white tuangi (cockles) in the harbour on the Rapaki side.
4. Where the old wharf was, only piles now, is one of the best bed of mussels in the inner harbour.
5. Whiteko, soft shelled pupu, soaked in salt water until they spit out the mud and cooked. Equivalent of French snails!
6. Paua rocks (smooth).
7. Mussel rocks.
8. Mudcrabs (papaka).
9. Pipi and Tuangi (cockles).
10. Koiro (conger eel).
11. Kina.
12. Red Cod.



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Addendum 1

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Addendum 2

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